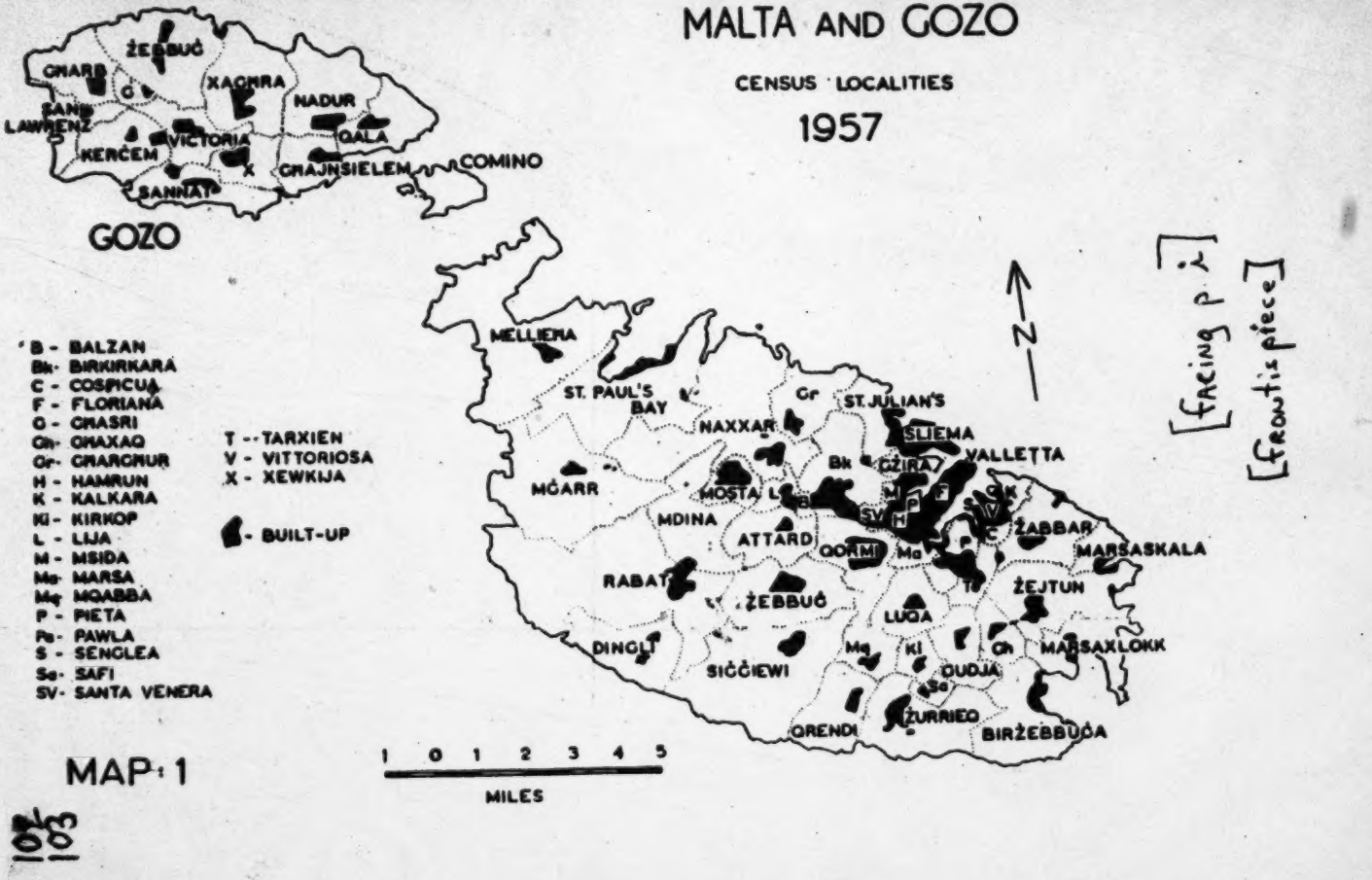
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CENSUS LOCALITIES
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ŻEBBUĠ
GHARB
XAGHRA
NADUR
SANT LAWRENZ
VICTORIA
QALA
KERĊEM
GHAJNSIELEM
COMINO
SANNAT
B - BALZAN
Bk - BIRKIRKARA
C - COSPICUA
F - FLORIANA
G - GHAXRI
Gh - GHAXAQ
Gr - GHARGHUR
H - HAMRUN
K - KALKARA
Ki - KIRKOP
L - LIJA
M - MSIDA
Ma - MARSA
Mq - MQABBA
P - PIETA
Pa - PAWLA
S - SENGLEA
So - SAFI
SV - SANTA VENERA
T - TARXIEN
V - VITTORIOSA
X - XEWKIJA
- BUILT-UP
MELLIEHA
ST. PAUL'S BAY
NAXXAR
ST. JULIAN'S
SLIEMA
VALLETTA
MĠARR
MOSTA
BIRKIRKARA
ĠŻIRA
MDINA
ATTARD
ŻABBAR
MARSASKALA
RABAT
ŻEBBUĠ
ŻEJTUN
LUQA
DINGLI
SIĊĊIEWI
MARSAXLOKK
QUDJA
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BIRŻEBBUĠA
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[P. i]

THE FARMER AND RURAL SOCIETY IN MALTA

000

A Report to the
Colonial Economic Research Committee
PROJECT C.D.W.(R) No. 764

B.W. BEELEY

1959

Department of Geography
Durham Colleges in the University of Durham

[Title Page]

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PREFACE

(1) TERMS OF REFERENCE

114 121 On October 1st, 1956, the writer became Junior Research Fellow in the Department of Geography in the Durham Division of the University of Durham, an appointment sponsored by the Research Department of the Colonial Office. The terms of the appointment, which was to be tenable for two years, entailed research into the social factors behind the problems of rural Malta and Gozo - especially as these concern the large agricultural element in this population (Project C.D.W. (R) No. 764).

The report here submitted presents the writer's assessment of the position.

114 [101] The sixteen months between January, 1957, and May, 1958, were spent in the Maltese Islands, the remainder of the period being spent in the Department in Durham on the analysis and preparation of material amassed in the field.

(2) ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

122 The writer wishes to record his gratitude for the help and encouragement received within both official and private circles in Malta and Gozo. During the period of work in the Islands, in 1957-58, the Maltese Government provided extensive help both to him and to a colleague, Mr. Peter K. Mitchell. This took the form of:

(a) the use of official transport for research purposes on two or three days each week throughout the period in the Islands,

(b) the provision of an interpreter for a large part of the time during which transport was also available,

(c) permission to use the facilities of certain Government Departments and other premises - on the customary Civil Service oath,

000 (d) a grant to cover certain travel expenses.

The Governor of Malta, His Excellency Sir Robert Laycock, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., and the Lieutenant-Governor, His Honour Mr. Trafford Smith, C.M.G., both showed gracious interest in the work in Malta.

General acknowledgement of other assistance given to the writer in Malta must, for reasons of space, be confined here to a few of a very long list of individuals. A very special mention must, however, be made in one case, for the writer wishes to place on record his debt to Mr. and Mrs. P.K. Mitchell for the help and friendship extended to him throughout the stay in Malta.

Profound thanks are due also to the farmers whose patience and generosity made field work among them possible and profitable. As their help and information was given in confidence individual identities have had to be obscured.

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A great deal of help was also given by members of the clergy of Malta and Gozo. Some of the many to whom thanks are due are included in the following list.

The writer also wishes to thank other members of the Department in Durham, notably Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney, for their advice and tolerance.

The following list includes some others responsible for help in general or in particular and is given with apologies for its incompleteness:

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Captain J. Attard; Commissioner for Gozo.
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Rev.Fr. Francis Camilleri; Comino.
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Mr. Joseph Cassar Pullicino; Librarian, Royal University of Malta.

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Mr. Walter Laferla; Sliema.
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Rev.Fr. Horatius Vella; Mgarr.
Mr. J.P. Vella; Secondary Technical School, Pawla.
Dr. Brian Wheeler; Colonial Pool Plant Pathologist, Malta.
Mr. James Wilkinson; Naida.
Mr. A. Wirth; Chief Government Statistician, Valletta.
Dr. Calcedonio Zammit, MD., M.L.A.; Siggiewi.

(3) INTRODUCTION

128 This report is composed of five main sections:

(i) The first is a brief examination of the major features of rural society in the Maltese Islands (Section 1). The report begins with some attempt at definition and discussion of this society, with special emphasis on the socio-functional changes which have emerged during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

(ii) Sections 2 to 5 consider the present-day Maltese farmer against the background of this society in which he lives and works, and attempt to outline the essential problems now facing the farmer and farming in the Islands. In Section 2, the technical and operational difficulties confronting the farmer are examined along with those remedies at present available, which, it is hoped, will make farming not only more attractive and profitable for the farmer but will also strengthen it as Malta's only basic industry. Section 3 includes an account of the place of money in Maltese rural economy with special reference to the recent emergence of a long list of new demands which the farmer now makes as part of the general change from the independent peasant subsistence of the past to the inter-dependent, commercial and money-based farming of today. This Section concludes with a discussion of these demands and the now changed actual and expected (i.e. demanded) living standards of the farmer. It appears that although rural standards have risen very considerably over the past hundred years the standards demanded have increased even more rapidly in relative terms so that the countryman is able today to complain of an inferior economic position within the total community. The attitudes and outlook of the farmer are discussed in Section 4 in so far as they are important in an understanding of Maltese agriculture as it exists today and to any 'official' or other efforts to improve the industry and the

128 lot of the former.

In Section 5 an attempt is made to draw together the main socio-economic aspects of the present problem of Maltese agriculture. It is recognized that other aspects of this total problem have been covered elsewhere (e.g. - Mitchell, B/524, 525; Cirillo, B/387; Rowen-Jones and Dowdney, B/336; and in the various official reports which [114] have appeared in recent years, B/Part 7 E). It is felt, however, that in most cases, insufficient emphasis has been put on what is in fact the essence of the problem - namely the retreat of the present younger generation from farming and from rural society for a variety of reasons which are, it emerges, certainly as much sociological as economic.

(iii) Section 6 presents a considerable part of the evidence upon which the assessments in Section 2 to 5 have been based. It contains, as it were, the minutes of evidence for the conclusions reached. Part 1 (Cases I to XIII) presents detailed studies on thirteen farm-units representative of the different branches of the industry. Part 2 (Cases XIV to XXII) illuminates the main features of the current over-emphasis on large tractors and other types of farm machinery, while Part 3 comprises a brief note on the fishing community in the Islands, included because the fortunes of this comparatively small group parallel those of the farmers of the Islands.

[127] In addition to the material set out in Section 6 the writer has made use of a great deal of case study and general material collected during the period of field research in Malta and Gozo. Most of this is now in B/5.

(iv) Section 7 comprises a note on literature and language in Malta and a bibliographical list of published and unpublished material on the Islands. This covers not only the field of research of the present report but attempts to include also details of a cross section of material available on the historical, economic, archaeological, geological, hydrological and other fields of study of Malta and Gozo. Being the first example of an attempt at such a comprehensive coverage it is given with apologies for its deficiencies. Works listed in the bibliography are referred to in the general text of the report by their number in the bibliography preceded by 'B/'.

(v) Section 8 includes five Statistical Appendices. The first of these presents a picture of Maltese agriculture, its nature and weaknesses, together with relevant details of the farming population. Appendix 5 assembles a wider range of information on weights and measures than previously available. The other three Appendices are included as illustrative of points made in Section 1, as are Maps 1 to 7 and The Graph.

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and the Graph.

NB: Typographical Note.

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In Maltese orthography the aspirate or hard 'h' is distinguished from the inaspirate or mute 'h' by the addition of a second bar in the capital letter and a bar through the up-stroke of the small letter. For ease of typing the writer has taken the liberty of omitting the second bar in the capital H and of adding a bar through the lower small letter - i.e. 'h'. Similarly the letter 'ain is represented 'gh'.

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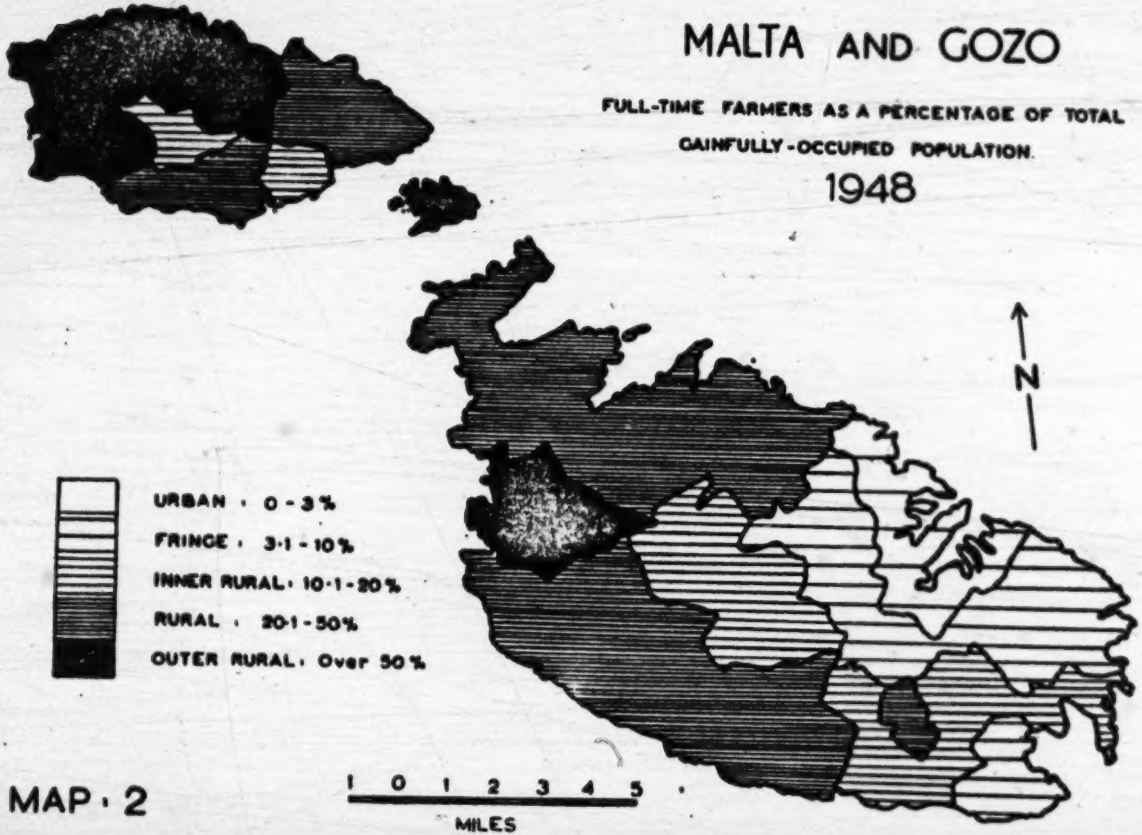

MAP · 2

[Following p. viii]

SECTION 1 : The Village in Maltese Rural Society.

121 369 Despite the small size of the Maltese Islands, the physical units in which the people live - the towns and villages (Map 1) - possess diverse characteristics. Sometimes administrative, sometimes morphological (i.e. pertaining to the physical arrangement of functional parts), these provide important evidence of the social and economic nature of society. The present report is concerned with rural society and with farming in the Islands where it is clear that the 'village' both reflects and shapes the character of the farmer. The historical evolution of the settlements cannot be examined here but a brief mention must be made of some important historical facts.

175 369 [361] [396] During their rule in Malta, from 1530 to 1798, the Knights of St. John built Valletta (after 1575) and founded an associated dockyard and surrounding towns. These creations have since expanded and merged to become the nucleus of modern Urban Malta. Before 1530, urban society had existed only in the capital, Notabile (Mdina)[1], and in a few large town-villages, none of which lay on the coast or adjoined the Grand Harbour. Nearly the whole of Malta and [241] [464] Gozo had been previously rural in that the population depended on a subsistence, peasant agriculture, with alternative employment existing only in the larger settlements or in the little harbour at the Borgo (Cospicua). Under the Knights, Valletta on the coast succeeded Notabile in the centre of the Island as capital; and the large town-villages (by pre-1530 standards) of Żebbuġ, Siġġiewi, Żejtun, and Żurrieq declined in relative importance.

[16] [396] [434] [712] [707] Little change otherwise occurred until the century and a half of British rule during which the Valletta nucleus and associated townships became dominant and the increase in the population accelerated[2]. The national economy became overwhelmingly dependent on the naval and commercial dockyards in the first place and, later, on the army and air-force bases[3]. Thus the old rural settlements became relatively if not absolutely of little importance.

RURAL SOCIETY

369 241 433 It is reasonable to talk of the farming communities as being synonomous with 'rural' settlements in Malta but the position demands more precise definition. Certainly the largest part of the Maltese rural-dwelling population has been based on agriculture - whether the peasant subsistence of the past or the commercial farming of today. Peasant subsistence farming in small-holding units, supplying almost all the needs of the family working the farm, is a type of farming in which money plays little or no part. It has faded very rapidly

It has faded very rapidly

369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give
241 way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
433 animals or animal products are sold for money.

By using the 1948 Census material (B/167 - 1948, Table 53)
[178] it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
162 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
463 occupied' section of the population as follows:

634

369 Table 1 (v. Map 2)

[127]

Urban (0-3%)		Fringe (3-10%)		Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Valletta	0	Balzan	5.48	Mqabba	10.5
Cospicua	0	Luqa	6.1	Marsaxlokk	10.6
Senglea	0	Birkirkara	6.16	Żurrieq	11.15
Vittoriosa	.008	Tarxien	6.43	Ghaxaq	11.29
Gżira	.11	St. Vennera	6.46	Attard	11.53
Sliema	.24	Qormi	6.88	*Victoria	13
Floriana	.43	Birzebbuga	7.3	Mdina	15.4
Pawla	.8	Żabbar	7.35	Mosta	16.56
Marsa	1.2	Żejtun	8.27	Żebbuġ	18.41
Hamrun	1.35	Lija	9.9	*Ghajnsielem	19.2
Msida	1.36			Gudja	19.91
Kalkara	1.84				
Pieta	2.6				
St. Julian's	2.9				

Rural (20-50%)	
Qrendi	20.25
Kirkop	22.33
Naxxar	24.8
Rabat	25.6
*Xewkija	27.7
Gharghur	29.1
Mellieha	34.73
Siġġiewi	37.63
*Sannat	39.04
*Nadur	40.9
Safi	46.87
Dingli	47.4
*Qala	47.6
St. Paul's Bay	47.72

Outer Rural (above 50%)	
*Kerċem	56.43
*Xaghra	64
*Gharb	67.81
*San Lawrenz	68.3
*Żebbuġ	70.9
Mġarr	73.3
*Ghasri	82.7
**Comino	89.47

Malta.....	9.11%
Gozo.....	41.78%
All Islands.....	12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
369 increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the
464 Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the
most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo
the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of
this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the
Census Reports since 1842 (B/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages

[i.e. peasant subsistence farming. - Analyst]

178 which are now 'rural' on the basis of the size of the farming
369 element are the old settlements.[4] The non-agricultural Urban zone is a comparatively recent growth around Valletta and the Three Cities and lacks the traditional agricultural basis of most of the Fringe and Rural areas where the villages grew little in size and declined considerably in relative importance.

178 A closer investigation of the declining relative impor-
241 tance of farming within the rural villages themselves over
433 the past hundred years (v. Appendix 1D, vii and Graph)
464 reveals that during some periods economic prosperity in
166 Malta has attracted labour away from the land but, equally, that these moves were largely temporary and that there was a return to farming as soon as boom conditions disappeared." This was the case, for example, during the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the present century (B/381). Since 1931 there has been a general retreat from farming (v. Graph) along with a socio-economic emancipation of the Maltese farmer in which the traditional ties with the land have been loosened. The earlier, temporary moves lacked this social rejection of an old way of life. The farmers who left their fields for industrial work at the end of the nineteenth century were in fact never very far from the land upon which they relied as a stand-by when the boom conditions declined. Today the farmer's son, far from maintaining a foothold in agriculture, is as fast losing touch with the land as he is with the community which it supported. If a depression were to appear along with any limitation in emigration a return to the land would be less easy than in times past. This would be due not to a shortage of land for farming or to difficulty in getting work in farm labouring but to the current estrangement between farmer's son and farming, an estrangement as much sociological as economic in character.

178 The earlier temporary moves from the land were partial
464 rather than total in that the bulk of farmers and farm-workers
241 who had sought urban jobs had come from the Fringe or 'Suburban' areas rather than from the Rural districts proper (B/381). The present move away is however from all parts of countryside. It is evident that both today and in the past the availability of alternative employment has been the governing factor. The earlier periods of economic prosperity mentioned brought only temporary alternative opportunity for
175 the farm-worker. In fact until the present century the
464 only large-scale alternative to field work for the rural
288 Maltese and Gozitan was cotton spinning and weaving. Even here possibilities were limited. Cotton growing and manufacture in the Islands developed fast during the eighteenth

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MALTA AND GOZO

DENSITY OF POPULATION

1957

[following p 3]

MAP: 3

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

F75 288 464 century but went into decline early in the nineteenth, particularly after the Spanish Government prohibited all imports of yarn (1800). But the industry was slow to die and is today undergoing something of a re-birth under a protective monopoly[5]. Cotton provided, during the nineteenth century, much employment, particularly for women who, in 1861, amounted to 96% of all cotton workers (B/167 - 1861). The small male labour force was mainly engaged in the beating and dyeing departments of the industry. This industry moreover, was centred in the villages and was essentially a home craft, so that the worker in cotton was never very far removed from home or farm, and field work was an alternative when cotton production declined. This decline accelerated towards the close of the nineteenth century but was not spread at an even rate over the whole of the rural area of the Islands. The total decline was due to external economic factors but, within the Islands themselves, the industry survived longest in its traditional 'core area' of Rabat and Żebbuġ. "The cotton industry persisted where the skills were greatest - where it now exists as a craft industry" (B/381).

175 178 241 369 464 [288] [396] [504] However the harbour areas and the dockyard were providing work and opportunity on an increasing scale towards the end of the nineteenth century and during the first quarter of this[6]. "The population nearest the harbour profited first, and there was a spreading outwards, as more and more of the Island sought work in the port. As the attraction of the harbour area spread, so interest in the declining cotton industry decreased". (B/381) A new alternative was thus appearing and one very different in that it meant a greater break with home, farm and village than had been the case with cotton. Agriculture itself came to feel the impact of the alternatives. "Gradually the whole Island became drawn into the economic sphere of the harbour area, and the population of the rural area became less and less dependent on agriculture for its livelihood" (B/381). This is a key factor in an understanding of rural Malta and Gozo today. The second, 178 241 369 241 433 considered later in more detail, is the social change which has been brought about by the emancipation of the villager through direct and indirect education and contact with the people and ideas of the world outside. Together these two forces, the one an extension and magnification of what had happened before on a temporary basis and the other a consequence of the trend towards social enlightenment which has been a widespread feature of the twentieth-century world, have given the farmer an escape. On the economic level he has the new range of employment opportunities indicated, while his newly acquired literacy and education is making it

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

433 Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
178 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
464 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
396 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
433 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
504 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
369 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'. Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March,1957, expressed as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
36 those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops, cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to which each census district is built-over. The 1957 Census distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix 3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but even in the rural districts most people are seen to live within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only five districts show a built-up township area accounting for more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for 1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern (R/361).

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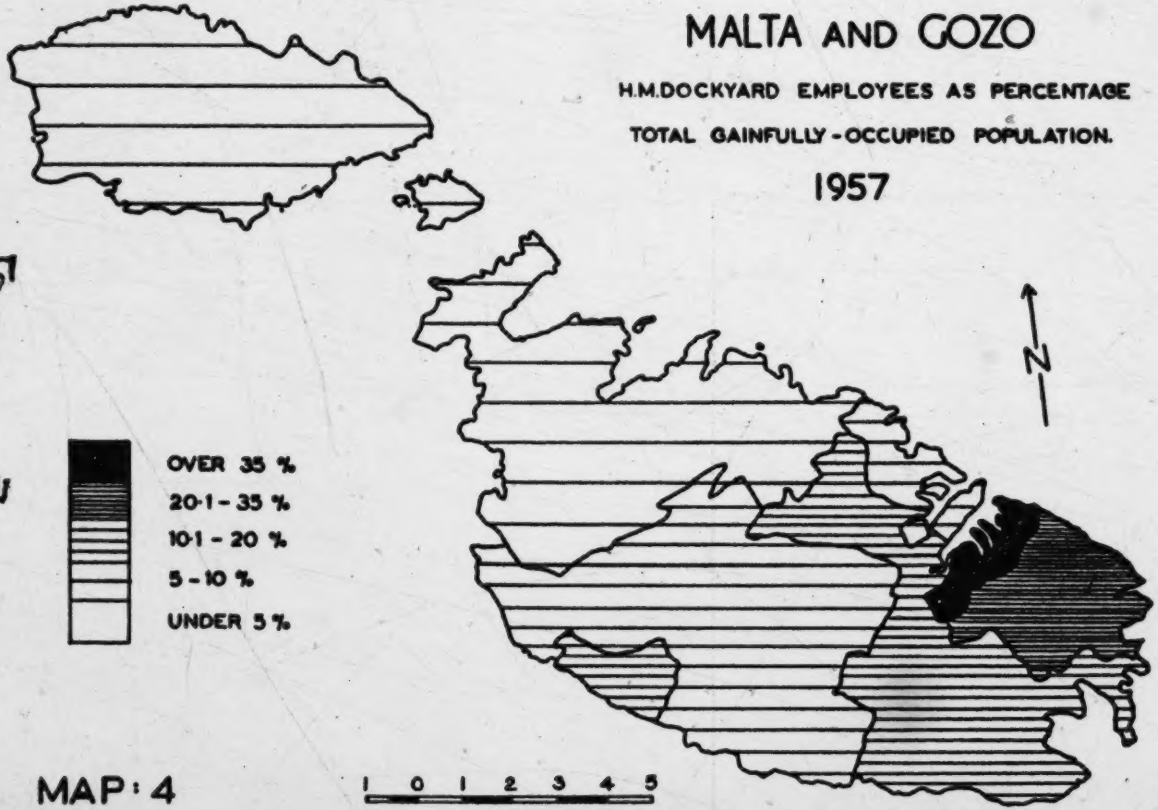
MALTA AND GOZO

H.M.DOCKYARD EMPLOYEES AS PERCENTAGE
TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1957



MAP: 4

Following p. 5]

361 Map 3, showing density of population by localities for 1957, closely reflects the built-up area pattern. Broadly-speaking it resembles Map 4 (residence of Dockyard workers) but here the emphasis on Valletta and Sliema, and all the northern part of the Urban zone, is notably less.

THE VILLAGE

621 [361] Maltese rural society is essentially composed of village communities each occupying a compact settlement[8]. There are some three dozen villages in the rural area of the Islands[9] among which there is considerable variation in site, date of foundation, morphology, population (B/561) and economic structure (B/381), but throughout the Islands there is a uniformity of function within the village as a community group. This makes it possible to speak of "the Maltese Village" from the point of view of social structure, and allows a qualifying classification into types on the basis of the features mentioned.

17 Maltese society as a whole, and particularly the rural part of it, is to some extent cut off from outside influences by virtue of the insular position of the country, cultural as well as geographical. Yet the Islands have clearly at no time in their history been independent of Europe to the north, Africa to the south and Asia to the east. Quite patently the opposite has been the case and Malta, as ever the mute pawn of great powers, has absorbed its material and moral culture from abroad just as it has received additions to its population whether coming as traders, invaders, or settlers, for four thousand years. But the Islands have put their own stamp on these arrivals so that a discussion such as this must take account of both autochthonous developments within the Islands, as well as those of wider origin.

17 621 The elements within the traditional Maltese village were, briefly, the Roman Catholic Church and clergy, the landed class, and the mass of the population - an illiterate peasantry. 'Traditional' here refers to rural society as it existed in Malta one, two or three centuries ago.

This is not to say that the traditional has been erased from the present scene but rather that recent moves towards literacy, emancipation and communication, and a greater range of amenities within the Islands, have diversified and modified the traditional aspects to produce a variety of different [793] [795] types in place of the social uniformity of the past. But the traditional nucleus within the village, the Parish Priest and the Parish Church retain their pivotal role. The modification of this role is very apparent but the place of the Church has been affected far less in the country districts

17 of Malta and Gozo than in the towns, where dockyard develop-
621 ments and other industrialization have produced a new kind of
793 social environment. This is an important subject in itself
795 but, for the present, attention is to be confined to the rural districts where change has to date been slower than in the towns but where the same factors are appearing now along with the rapid 'urbanization' of the villages.

In traditional Malta the function of the clergy[10]
175 extended far beyond matters of religion. The priests were
621 the teachers, doctors, and legal advisors as well as spiritual
793 guardians of the people. Government-organized education began
871 in the nineteenth century. Previously such formal education as there was had been under ecclesiastical auspices. The clergy were literate when almost all the rest of the population was not. This concentration of learning produced a situation in which only the clergy were able to step forward to take the lead among Maltese, for the nobility, which might
[669] have been expected to provide a focus and leadership, tended
[648] to be more Italian or Spanish than Maltese. Even revolutionary leaders came from the ranks of the clergy; the Mannarino Revolt against the Order of St. John (1775) and the rising against the French during the brief occupation of the Islands by Napoleon (1798-1800) are instances.

175 For some centuries before the arrival of the British in
795 1800, the Church had built up its dominating position in both
[874] village and town. Even the educated townsman going to the University came strongly under the influence of the Church,
[178] for the University, itself a Jesuit foundation of long standing, was and still is best known for its Theology. However, during the nineteenth century, the major changes within the Church of Malta were connected with purely administrative details of keeping pace with the rapidly rising population[1].

Many new parishes were created in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth. The Archbishopric of Malta was established in 1831 with the separation from the jurisdiction of Palermo, and the Bishopric
[178] of Gozo was founded in 1863. A movement of great sociological importance during the present century has been the growth of the Lay Apostolate in the Islands, especially in the urban areas. This represents a counter-attack against the forces which are today tending to detract from the traditional omnipotence of the Church. It is only a matter of time before the problems which the Church is facing in the towns will loom much larger than at present in the country districts and in Gozo[11].

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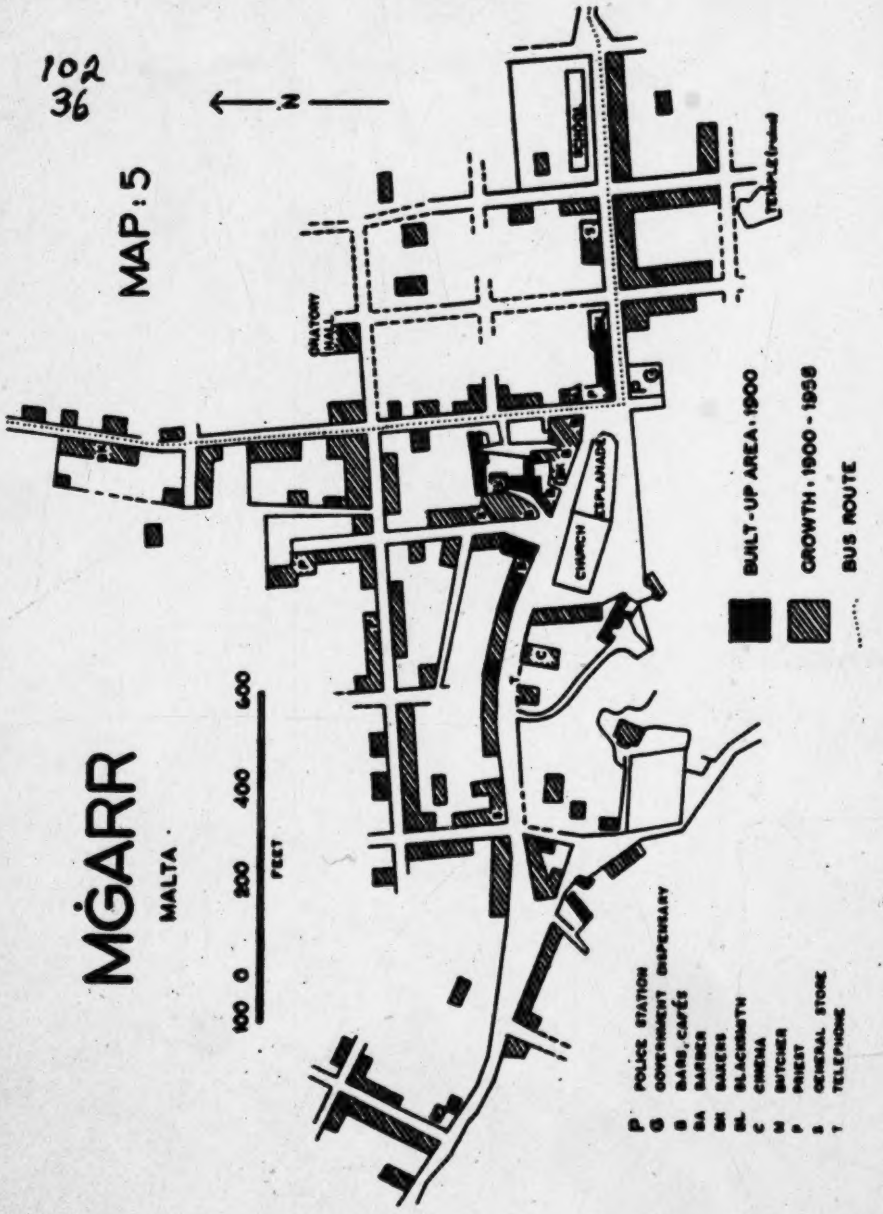

[following p. 7]

565 The landed classes in Malta and particularly the nobility have never taken any considerable part in the communal life of the villages in which they maintain their country seats and draw rents from the lands which they own. They have always [793] been more urban than rural and more European than Maltese. A squirearchy on the English pattern has been lacking, and the functions which, in the English village, fell to the squire have, in Malta, come within the wide range of activities of the Parish Priest.

621 795 565 Apart from the clergy[10] and the gentry, the greater part of the population of the traditional village in Malta was made up of the peasantry deriving their livelihood directly or indirectly from the land or in some cases the sea. Within this section of the community homogeneity was the keynote. There was one Church. All the populace were Church members and attended the same services at the same times each day of every [203] week. The Church could therefore be the centre of diffusion of news to the villagers - both relating to farming and to general affairs in and out of the village.

621 565 241 423 [611] [591] Within the village the peasant and his family, patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal, worked the few tmien of land held on rent or lease: rarely was much of it owned by the cultivater. The work of the farm and of the household went on as a single unit (Section 2). The two were often located within the same cluster of buildings (Case VI,v. Plan). Clearly some farmers were richer than others, some had more land, some more animals, but accepted stratification within the village went no further than this: there was no middle class between priest and farmer.

628 197 For the peasant, the bounds of his regular experience were the limits of the village. Contact between villages, even where close together, was slight and invariably less than that between the individual village and Valletta. Evidence of this is found in the dialect differences between villages but equally illuminating is the fact that the basic dialect distinction that can be made is that between the Urban area, with its Italianized vocabulary and intonation, and the rural parts of the Islands with their characteristically broader vowels, harsher gutturals and fewer European words and idioms (B/Aquilina,J). Language is but one aspect of rural culture in the Maltese Islands which reveals the essential independence of the village within the traditional rural scene. Village patriotism is expressed in inter-Parish rivalry and in a variety of regional reputations, proverbs, [794] and local lore. Thus the shrewdness of the inhabitants of Rabat is revealed by the saying that "A man from Rabat is worth two Jews"[12]. The men of Żebbuġ (Malta) are acknowledged to be merchants par excellence however, while those of Qormi

628 are alleged heavy drinkers[12]. The notion held in Gozo that a
186 man of Nadur claims to be more Maltese than Gozitan is held to point to the settlement of that village from Malta at some comparatively recent date[13].

621 Whatever the differences of size, settlement, economic
793 structure or tradition the functional basis of the Maltese
795 village remains pivoted on the Church and the Parish Priest, and a detailed discussion of the present scene becomes largely an attempt to assess the part now played vis-à-vis the Church by the new features and modifications of the old landscape in the present.

175 Here we may consider the history and growth of a young
361 Maltese village, MGARR, to show how this growing settlement has acquired the essential features common to rural society throughout the Islands (Map 5).

Until the nineteenth century, Malta north of the Victoria Lines had remained without any large settlements, partly on account of the vulnerability of the area to attack from the sea. This is not to say that there was no human activity in the area before 1800 for there is evidence of a small church [172] in what is now Mgarr as far back as 1580[14]. Evidence, too, of life in other eras is provided by the temple of Bu Hagrat (2,000 B.C.) and the remains of a Roman house near the village.

175 However, in the early part of the nineteenth century,
361 farmers from Mosta began to cultivate the land in what is now
793 the Parish of Mgarr. The account, of the history of one of
795 the families concerned in this settlement, given by Mitchell (B/525), is typical. The numbers involved in the general movement increased as the century advanced until, in 1898, an independent Parish was established. Before 1898, spiritual needs of the farmers were catered for by visiting priests from Żebbuġ, Balzan, Mdina and Mosta itself and the tiny Church of St. Mary was used throughout this period and until 1918. Earlier in the nineteenth century the colonization of Mgarr had been a 'week-day' venture with most farmers returning to their families and homes in Mosta for the week-end and the Sunday Mass. The visiting priests celebrated Sunday morning Mass for those farmers who began to settle in the area permanently. With the granting of parochial status in 1898, a
175 full-time Parish Priest was appointed who came from Mosta and
346 [793] settled in the growing village. The first concern was for a new Church and work was begun in 1912, although the population of the village at this time was only 1,067 (B/167-1911). [463] Significantly, both the master mason and the architect concerned were Mosta men. Building went ahead slowly on the

[Village of Mġarr]

Building went ahead slowly on the 10.
175 immense construction as costs were defrayed by private sub-
34 scription in kind and in money, and the villagers were
794 themselves responsible for much of the labouring work. Money and farm produce of every variety was given towards the cost which, in 1939, had passed £10,000 (R/54 - 12.8.1939); this in a parish which even ten years later had no more than 2,218 people (R/167 - 1948).

175 With the growth of Mġarr, assistant priests were
793 attached to the Parish, notably Father (later Monsignor)
871 Edgar Salamone, who went to the village in 1920 and became Parish Priest a decade later. The work of this one priest not only pays him personal tribute but illustrates the way in which Mġarr acquired the characteristics and features possessed by other villages of much longer standing in the Islands, with the Church itself as the prime consideration and focus of energy and resources. Mgr. Salamone was "sickened by the ignorance and backwardness of the people of Mġarr"[15] and set about establishing some sort of schooling in the village. He acquired premises, used at week-ends by the part-time village barber, and opened a school in 1920 for
[658] about 40 children and adults. Three years later a Government
[671] elementary school was opened (19.9.1923) and support for this still novel feature of the village grew fast enough for nearly all children to be attending when the Compulsory Attendance Act was passed in 1926.

744 At this time the health of the villagers was cared for
793 by a Dispensary which opened once a week and by Mgr. Salamone
759 himself. A statement in the Malta Legislative Assembly of
175 1933 observed that the Priest of Mġarr kept "a medicine chest of his own and people used to call on him at all hours of the day and night. He used to pack up his medical kit and go to anyone's bedside, whenever he was called for" (R/291, p.6). As in all things the villagers turned to their Priest in difficulty or trouble whether spiritual, medical or social, as had been the custom for centuries. In 1933, however, the first medical officer for Mġarr began his duties in the village, and another of the traditional functions of the Priest passed to specialist hands.

175 After this, interest was turned again to building and
346 the spacious esplanade in front of the Church was laid out
344 in 1935, followed by a nearby construction to house the Police Station, Post Office, Government Dispensary and the
[435] District Medical Officer. Once again the villagers themselves were responsible for a great deal of the building work, as they were in the case of the Church which continued to grow until its completion and dedication in 1948 - at a
000 total cost of some £16,000[15]. By the mid-thirties Mġarr had

[Village of Mġarr]

By The mid-Thirties Mġarr had 11.

175 become independent of Mosta as a Police area and had been
722 connected to the Telephone network[15]. Other amenities
648 to reach the village about this time included a number of
[365] levelled roads, although asphalting did not appear until
[491] after the 1939-45 War. During the War years most construction activity was halted. Some 700 refugees from the blitzed harbour areas were billeted in the village; thirty shelters were dug, and about 600 bombs fell in the vicinity of the village destroying two houses and killing three people (B/291). United States' forces camped near Mġarr prior to the Sicily invasion: an Italian aircraft crashed not far away. Mġarr heard about the war and experienced as much of it at first hand as most other rural parts of the Islands lying well away from the Dockyard, air bases and
[434] other strategic targets. Food rationing and Government
[241] control of production put the farmers of Mġarr in as strong a position as elsewhere but at the worst period of the siege even they were reduced to chewing carob beans[12].

36 By the advent of the present decade Mġarr had acquired the normal characteristics of community life of village Malta, with Church, school, police station, dispensary and
[178] doctor, telephones, and roads. The built-up area has since
[794] expanded rapidly. In this present decade, too, the village has gone on to 'catch-up' with older settlements to the extent of establishing the four branches of the Catholic
[795] Action movement (Appendix 4). A most modern and well-
[544] appointed 'oratory' has for five years been the focal point of Catholic teaching and social work in the Parish. Its theatre holds 700 and shows films on Sundays and special
[546] occasions. More recently a commercial cinema has opened in the village but, one understands, it cannot detract from the popularity of the oratory film show.

443 Within the past few years, shops have appeared in the
[366] village which is now independent in this respect for food and general items. Travelling vans, a prominent feature of the countryside, further swell the range of goods available on the spot and are joined in this door to door service by
[484] the weekly paraffin (petrolju) vehicle. For other items
[494] Mġarr housewives still make the journey to Mosta or
[178] Valletta on the buses which operate every few hours; a generation ago their mothers carried bread on their backs each week from Mosta, the parent village.

194 On account of its recent development, Mġarr lacks
794 certain features found in the larger and much older settlements. The Catholic Action is the only Lay Movement in the village - though it is notably active there, and of the Confraternities which are numerous in the older settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4).

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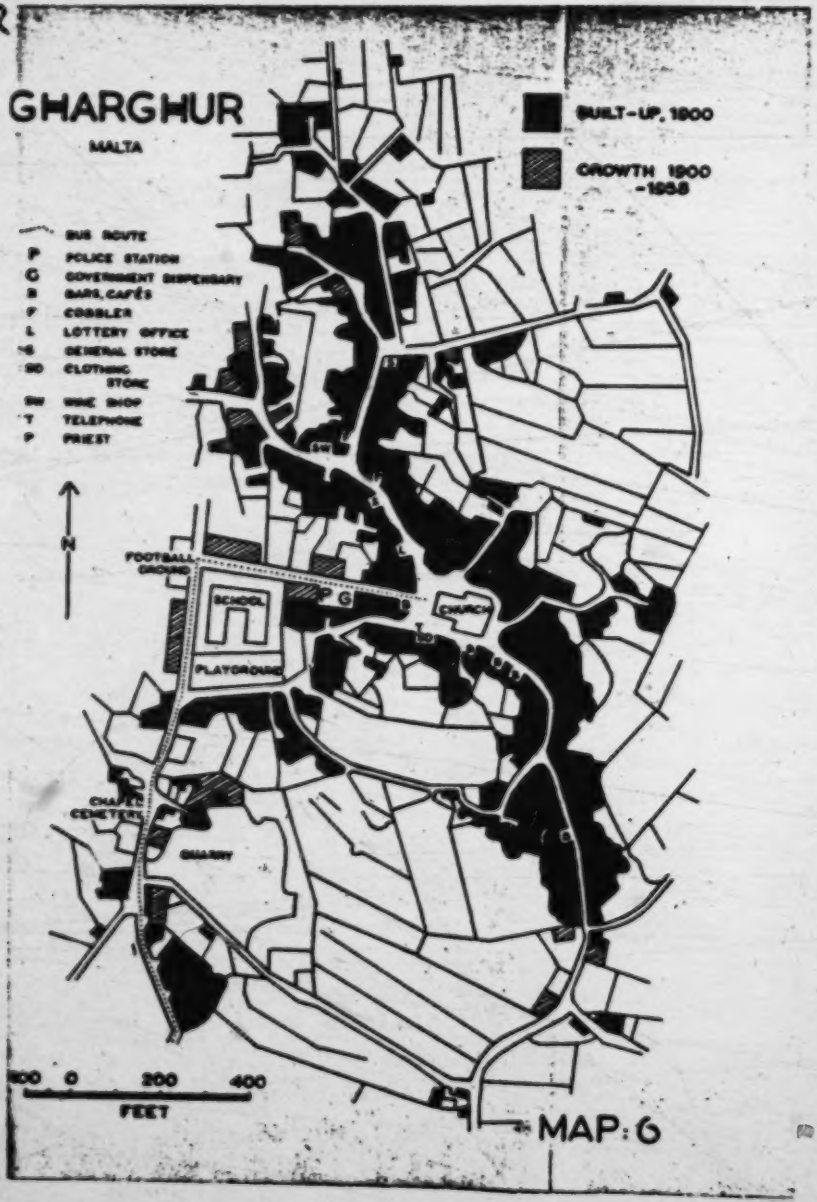

[following p. 11]

000 settlements Mġarr has only three (Appendix 4). Other characteristic features of rural Malta absent in Mġarr are the Band Club and the Football Club. The Band Club movement which spread rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of this became the major 'social' centre for men outside the Church itself (B/521). Similarly football has become a focus of extra-church activity in the Islands - more especially in Gozo where the Band Club has had only a limited extension outside the capital, Victoria. In the case of Mġarr one would expect the village to acquire these 'later-stage' features as it develops in size and
621 social diversity. The writer holds that at present Mġarr is essentially very close to what has been called the traditional Maltese village. Incidentally also its agricultural bias (Map 2) is less removed from the traditional than is the case in the more urban-influenced villages. It is certainly the most rural Parish of Malta and yet does seem more 'urbanate' in terms of social life than is the case over much of Gozo.

121 184 Having enumerated the essential elements of Maltese village structure as exemplified in Mġarr, a brief comparative study of other villages of the archipelago, many of which are much larger, older and more complex, is indicated. From observation two basic premises have been established:

(i) Despite the regional differentiation customarily made, rural society in the Islands has a basic homogeneity:

(ii) The modern problem of this rural society, the problem of the individual who is now socially out of sympathy with the life of the community which bred him, is common to all the rural community of the Islands.

The final question is therefore whether or not there can be a standard type of working rapprochement between the new and the old.

121 621 Two villages which may be compared with Mġarr in an effort to answer this question are Għarghur, a settlement of very old foundation, predominantly agricultural as is Mġarr and of like size, and Żurrieq, much larger, more urbanate in character, containing certain socio-functional divisions within itself, and also possessing two small satellite villages.

36 Morphologically GHARGHUR (Map 6) and Mġarr have little in common on first inspection. The latter contains many new or recent detached and semi-detached buildings within the regular street pattern previously laid down. Many of the houses are quite modern by prevailing standards and

[village of Gharghur]
[village of Zurrieq] 13.

36 include such atypically rural features as ground-floor windows[16]. In Mġarr the Church and the Jubilee Esplanade are at the centre of village organization with most of the shops, police station and dispensary close by, and through this central area pass the bus routes from Ghajn Tuffieha, to the north, and Mosta to the east. Gharghur, on the other hand, is a village of many centuries standing. Its morphology is as irregular as that of Mġarr is regular. As [471] one expects of a Maltese village the great Parish Church stands in the centre of the houses and the narrow streets - just as the Faith of the people stands in the centre of their life and work. The old streets of Gharghur grew up without any town-planning. Narrow alleys lead off to quiet courts; goat-pens, tiny shops and houses within yards of each other break the monotony of the streets in which few windows appear at ground-floor level[16]. First floor windows are seen, along with decorative balcony work and other embellishments of the yellow limestone walls. Map 6 distinguishes those parts of the village which have undergone new development, largely since 1945. The main part [491] of the work has been the cutting of a section of new road through old buildings between the Church and the recent [494] Government school. This road now carries the bus route from the Church square, the terminus, to Naxxar, and also houses the police station and the Government dispensary. Here then is the core area of the village (Map 6)

(i) a main street, carrying a regular bus route,
(ii) Church, police station, dispensary and school,
(iii) shops and bars nearby.

Turning again to Mġarr we now perceive the basic similarities of pattern (Maps 5 and 6).

In the case of ŻURRIEQ (Map 7) the same basic elements appear, though the built-up area of this village is much larger and there are additional, more urbanate, features. Bubaqra is an example of a dependent hamlet lacking the full complement of features of an independent village; it has no school, police station, etc. Żurrieq's morphological development follows the general pattern of the long-established Maltese villages with narrow, twisting streets and alleys delving seemingly at random into the built-up mass of houses, farm buildings, shops and work premises. The village is large enough to allow of secondary nuclei, particularly around churches or chapels, but the bulk of activity is focussed on the core area between Parish Church and School and in and near Churchill Square with its Band Club and Football Club premises, Lotto office[17], and shops.

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36

ŻURRIEQ

MALTA

MAP: 7

[Following p. 13, A]

102
36

[Following p. B, B.]

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

36 This type of core area therefore, as defined in these examples is the basic pattern in all villages throughout Malta and Gozo.

103 361 178 In a consideration of the present scene within the Maltese village it is essential to be aware, at all stages of the argument, of the evolution of the settlements concerned. In the Żurrieq case it is clear that the main village block is extending in several directions, notably northward past the school and south-westward towards the small hamlet of Nigret. This latter is already linked by a continuous built-up stretch to the main village and thus contrasts with Bubaqra which remains morphologically [578] independent. In the case of some of the larger villages, Żebbuġ and Żejtun are two notable examples, the completion of this kind of merging of nuclei accounts for present intra-village sectionalism. Thus Żebbuġ (Malta) is a compound of three ancient village nuclei, Hal Muxi, Hal Mula and Hal Dwieli. The very title of 'Hal', or 'village', still given to these parts of what is now a single village reflects their original separate independence. They have grown together over the centuries and have been unified by the construction of a Parish Church and the appearance of a new 'township' core in the central area. Similarly Żejtun has three component parts, Ta'Fuq (Upper), Ta'Isfel (Lower), and Ta' Wara l-Knisja (Behind the Church): the present large Parish Church has been built in the space remaining between the merging older nuclei. The distinction here is clearly morphological rather than administrative but is nevertheless not to be ignored in a study of social structure and affiliation in a static and conservative community.

Merging between fully independent villages has also occurred. Balzan-Birkirkara and Pawla-Tarxien are examples, but here the administrative and affiliatory distinctions have been maintained. At a higher level still the merging of the settlements comprising the Urban area, begun in the nineteenth century but more rapid in the twentieth, is the major feature of modern settlement growth in Malta (R/561).

Rabat in Malta, and Rabat (Victoria) in Gozo, illustrate another aspect of settlement evolution where morphological [712] facts bear on social structure. In both cases the 'suburb of the citadel' ('Ir-Rabat tal-Imdina') grew to large-village size outside the Walls of the central fortified stronghold of each Island. In Malta, Rabat remained as the main rural centre after the capital had moved to Valletta, with ancient Mdina itself remaining a quiet residential back-water.

000 In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an

In Malta the countryman still regards Rabat as an 15.
178 unofficial capital of the rural areas of his Island; markets
361 are still held there even though the main ones have
[443] gravitated to Valletta and the urban area. The annual
'Immarja', traditionally one of the main events in the farmers' social calendar, is held nearby[18], while the ancient importance of the Church is reflected in the large number of clergy, churches, confraternities and third orders
[712] found there (Appendix 4). In Gozo, Rabat is the administrative, cultural and economic capital with the old fortified 'Castello' now in large part a deserted ruin.

369 The differing extent to which the villages of Malta and
178 Gozo have been influenced economically by the industrial and urban developments of the dockyard areas and towns are paralleled in the social plane. Traditionally rural centres such as Qormi, Żabbar and Birkirkara have undergone increasing social and cultural attraction towards Valletta and the Urban area along with economic 'de-ruralization' by virtue of their proximity to the towns and harbours. The improvements in amenities and especially in transport facilities have tended to link these Fringe settlements to the Urban area rather than to the countryside which produced them (B/381).

361 A further type of village is exemplified by St. Paul's
178 Bay. This began as a summer-time resort for town and city dwellers during the nineteenth century but attained a sufficient permanence and size to be granted full parochial status in 1905. The analogy in Gozo is Marsalforn though this settlement is perhaps half a century behind St. Paul's Bay in development and presents in winter time the appearance of almost a ghost-town with only a few permanent farmer and fishermen residents.

Birżebbuġa is a class on its own, having grown in the past few decades upon largely non-agricultural foundations of the British and United States' bases, oil installations and some small-scale industry.

128 Using this type of analytical approach, a classification
361 of the villages of Malta and Gozo on the basis of their origin and socio-functional characteristics becomes possible (Richardson (B/561) goes into greater detail concerning the evolution of settlement in Malta itself and considers the development of the present pattern in the light of population growth and movement and other historical factors.)

712 (1) Medieval Capital Fortresses - Mdina in Malta and
175 the Castello in Gozo. Both occupy central eminences in
[361] their respective Islands and were used as capitals by the Arabs (in Malta 870-1090) and by the various rulers of Malta
712 between 1090 and the coming of the Knights of St. John in 1530. The former is today a tranquil, residential

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

712 museum-piece; the latter ruined apart from the Cathedral and the Law Courts.

361 175 (2) Attached to each of the two fortresses there grew up at an early date suburbs which themselves achieved the status of independent settlements. Rabat is still an important locus for the farming community of rural Malta, while the Rabat in Gozo (or Victoria as it is now known) is the largest settlement in that Island and the only one with any urban features.

361 175 103 (3) The medieval town-villages of Malta, other than Rabat, were granted parochial status in 1436. This pattern of large agricultural villages formed the basis of the economic life of the times and even today they retain a strong flavour of the "Old Malta". They were Birkirkara, Qormi (split 1935), Żejtun, Żurrieq, Żebbuġ, Gudja, Naxxar and Siġġiewi. The parallel group of villages in Gozo included Xewkija (1678), Għarb (1679), and Żebbuġ, Xagħra, Nadur and Sannat (all 1688).

(4) Soon after the arrival of the Knights in 1530 building in the Three Cities and on the Xiberras Peninsula began. Thus Senglea (1581) and Cospicua (1584) were given parochial status (Vittoriosa had been one of the two 'parishes' of 1090) and the Valletta parishes of St. Paul and St. Dominic were established on the Peninsula in 1585 and 1587.

(5) Chronologically, the next development was the 'filling-in' of the rural scene with new village centres during the rule of the Knights. In all, thirteen such parishes were established in Malta and ten of these were in what are now the Fringe and Inner Rural areas. They were Tarxien and Kirkop (both 1592), Lija (1594), Għargħur, Safi and Mqabba (all 1598), Mosta (1608), Żabbar (1615), Qrendi (1618), Għaxaq (1626), Luqa (1634), Balzan (1655), and Dingli (1678).

(6) After this spate of parish-building in the hundred years 1580-1680 there was a gap of a century and a half before any new parishes were created. The list then reflects very closely the growth of the Urban area under British rule after 1800 (v. Appendix 1A, and Map 3). Of the eighteen new parishes in Malta eleven were Urban and three in the Fringe zone. The new Urban settlements were Floriana (1844), Msida & Pieta (1867), Sliema (1878, 1918, and 1940), Hamrun (1881), St. Julian's (1891), Kalkara (1898) Pawla (1910), Marsa and Ghira (both 1913); in the Fringe zone came Birżebbuġa (1913), Santa Vennera (1918), and Marsaskala (1949). Other foundations in Malta were Marsaxlokk (1897) and the three new villages in the north -

361 Mellieha (1841), Mgarr (1898) and St. Paul's Bay (1905).
175 In Gozo seven new parishes appeared in just over a century:
103 Ghajnsielem[19] (1855), Qala (1872), Kerbem (1885), San Lawrenz (1893), Fontana (part of Victoria, 1911), Ghasri (1921), and Munxar (1957; v. Sannat, Map 1).

17 361 369 In the period reviewed the major development has been the emergence of Valletta and the Three Cities under the Order and the tremendous urban extension in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The town-villages of medieval Malta, looking inwards to Rabat, grew quietly but were eclipsed by the youthful Valletta and remained agriculturally and socially isolated. In recent generations the economic 'draw' of the towns and the harbour area penetrated the Fringe zone and then the Rural districts, bringing all the countryside in some measure within the economic sphere of the towns. This has been accompanied by the education and emancipation of the rural community which tends to blur the line of demarcation between townsman and villager. Thus an adequate definition of 'Rural Malta' becomes increasingly elusive.

SECTION 2:- The Farmer and Farming

128

DEFINITIONS

In much the same way in which the terms 'rural community' and village' need examination before they can be used in socio-economic analysis, so too, in Malta, do the meanings of 'farmer', 'farm-holding', etc., even as used in official reports, need elucidation.

128 241 423 [114] The definitions of such terms made by Mitchell (B/525) have been accepted by the present writer. The 'farmer' is the "owner or holder of the land which he cultivates either individually or as the principal person of an agricultural enterprise". "The land worked by the farmer and his group of helpers constitutes the 'farm holding' or 'farm'. 'Holding' here implies simply the land held by the farmer, and is not used in a synonomous sense with the legalistic 'tenement'. There are excellent reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between the two terms for, on the one hand, a holding may consist of many different tenements held by the farmer of as many landowners and, on the other, a legal tenement may be occupied by more than one farmer. 311 423 Confusion may also arise, in this connection, from the fact that a holding may contain freehold as well as various types of leasehold land". Mitchell continues "Most farms include land of more than one category, and especially in the north

311 and west of Malta and the hard rock areas of Gozo many
423 farmers hold rights over waste-land which from the cultivators' point of view is useless". As to size "the range is enormous" but "it is clear that a reduction in the average size of the farms has taken place at all levels". Today "the great majority of holdings (83.5%) are seen to consist of dry land only. A very small proportion, less than half of one per cent, contain irrigated land only. The balance of 16% of all holdings are 'mixed'. The majority of the mixed holdings contain less than 5 tmien of irrigated and less than 20 tmien of dry land".

423 The past hundred years have shown "a general upward
178 trend in the number of land-holders balancing a downward trend in the number of farm workers", while a "factor influencing the numerical increase and progressive reduction in size of holdings has been the long-term expansion of part-time farming".

This picture is made even more complex by the prevailing systems of land tenure and their wide ramifications. This sector has been investigated by Mitchell (B/525). He considers the various types of ownership (Government, Church, private ownership and owner occupation) and the systems of tenure (long and short lease and share cropping, etc.), and traces the land-holding history of one family back through four generations, in order to reveal the way in which the farm-holdings of the members of the various branches of the family have been assembled as the individual farmers have lived and built up their holdings and then dispersed upon death or retirement (in B/337). "Both the methods of acquiring new land and subdividing land already held are seen to result in more scattered and smaller plots".

311 Thus the Maltese farm is characterized by variety of
423 size, tenure, composition and soil types. Moreover, one must distinguish holdings which are primarily livestock supporting, from those essentially arable in emphasis and also from the heterogeneous class which might be called
[128] 'mixed farms'. The present discussion attempts to consider the Maltese farmer as an individual within the agricultural and rural scene and aims to demonstrate the contrasts between the illiterate and the educated, the old-fashioned and the modern, the prosperous and the poor.

THE PROBLEM.

128 This Section considers the dilemma of the Maltese farm today from the point of view of its technical management. The problem soon emerges essentially as the struggle by an uneconomic unit - the Maltese farm - for existence in the already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

000 already unbalanced total Maltese economy.

241 423 The first aspect of the problem is apparent from the points of definition just made. This is the complex of features which have produced the present landscape of tiny field-plots covering the cultivable parts of the Islands with a patch-work of small farms, each consisting of widely scattered pieces of good, bad or indifferent land. The farmer whose lands form one block is very much the exception.

[433] Yet although the number of constituent plots is often large the average area of the Maltese farm is very small ("Over 55% of the total number of holdings appear to have less than 9 tmien of cultivable land"; B/164 - 1957, p. x) and in many cases is patently insufficient to supply food for the family concerned as well as produce a surplus of crops or fodder (Case V).

241 311 464 The obvious solution of acquiring more land is not always possible, as illustrated by Case V where present and new building severely limits the extent of cultivable land in the vicinity. Moreover much land is going out of cultivation because the hand work required to maintain it is not forthcoming under the current wage/labour conditions. Many fields were built on inaccessible or barren patches of rock in days when manual labour was readily available and cheap, much of it unpaid family labour. Terrace walls were constructed expertly and soil tediously carted, levelled,

[409] tilled and irrigated. But while mechanization, particularly in the form of now popular small rotary cultivators, is enabling a smaller labour force to cope with more work over much of the Islands, some of these man-made fields defy even this kind of development on account of their small size, tortuous shape or inaccessibility. The terrace walls are neglected. A sudden storm removes a wall section and the soil which it hold in place collapses over the terraces below and into the 'wied' bottom whence, in associated flash floods, it may be swept seawards.

423 241 454 The tenurial aspects mentioned (B/525) complicate this picture since they make for further divisions in an already minutely parcellated lay-out. Moreover a farmer is frequently deterred from making improvements on a pie e of land if he lacks security of tenure (Case IX): he concentrates any capital outlay on the patches of ground which he either owns himself or has on long lease and which show the necessary conditions of size, accessibility, irrigability (Case XI); or which provide suitable sites for building (Case I).

241 423 Part-time farmers are an increasingly important feature. They neglect or relinquish unprofitable land even more

241 423 rapidly than does the full-time farmer who often seems to continue working unpracticable fields, which, by present standards, are uneconomic. He continues to work them for reasons which are a mixture of sentimental attachment, force of habit and, quite often, stark ignorance of the fact that the plots concerned are bringing him loss rather than profit. He does not indulge in cost-accounting.

241 464 433 This is the background to the present attempts to rescue Maltese farming from its two main difficulties:

(a) a drastic reduction in the agricultural labour force due to the retreat from the land, especially by the younger generation,

[654] (b) the fact that contemporary Maltese farming cannot produce a profit without subsidies and protection from foreign competition.

654 241 464 The answer to the labour problem is held to be mechanization, along with the education of the farmer in the use of better suited methods, crops, animals, etc., and maximum development of the land by means of low-interest Government loans to farmers. The accepted answer to (b) is in fact not an answer at all but entails the creation of an artificial farming economy in which Government subsidies and guaranteed markets enable the farmer to make some profit where he would otherwise sustain a heavy loss. The cost of this is the price which the Government is willing to pay in order to develop the Islands' only primary industry to the maximum and to encourage the farming community to remain on their farms.

The limited scope of these solutions emerges from the discussions of labour, mechanization and protective subsidies and guarantees which follow.

LABOUR

178 462 [592] The decline of the peasant system in Malta and its replacement by what has been called commercial farming has been accompanied by changes in the family as the operating group within the farm. There has been no strictly formal division of labour by sex in Malta[20] but there is an 'accepted' division and this is important to an understanding of the present socio-economic upheaval in Maltese rural society.

562 462 178 In traditional and peasant Malta woman's place was certainly in the home. An old adage held that "Women should never appear but twice in public: the day they are married and when they are buried" (B/326, Vol. 1, p.80). Even today the countrywoman, especially in Gozo, still divides her activity between home, Church, and the fields worked by the

462 family, while her daughter, literate, emancipated and
562 'progressive' by contrast, wants to take up paid employment
178 outside the home or even outside the village and insists on a greater measure of social intercourse than would have been proper for her mother.

462 The home and the care of the children remains the sphere
178 of women and girls. The menfolk took part in such work only in exceptional cases, such as illness. Nowadays the men are often more inclined to interest themselves in this side of family life but, as often in a discussion of this nature, the range of divergence of practice defeats generalisation.

178 Until recently it was customary for most women and girls
462 to work, unpaid, alongside their menfolk in the fields,
288 especially when work was pressing as at harvest time.
464 Furthermore cotton was the work of women in most stages of its preparation (Section 1), while lace was almost entirely the work of women - particularly those whose age or infirmity excluded them from field work. Cotton is now of minor importance and lace-working is confined to the older
178 generations. The employment vacuum thus created is now
464 partly being filled by young women and girls seeking employment away from the family in clerical jobs, retailing, teaching and domestic service. Fewer work as hired farm-labourers than was the case a generation ago. Yet there remains an increasing number of unmarried girls today, educated far beyond field work, who cannot find employment to suit their aspirations or qualifications, whether because of the scarcity of suitable posts or on account of the attitude that persists in labelling paid employment fo a girl as somehow improper (Case I). Married women are, in any case, discouraged from taking or retaining paid employment throughout Malta (B/598).

241 Some farming families still retain the traditional
462 pattern of field work by the whole family (Case XI);
[178] others do not (Case VIII). In some cases the women and girls work occasionally with their menfolk (Case II). In the fields they are given hoeing, planting, reaping and picking jobs but heavier work and jobs considered skilled, such as spraying with insecticide, are left to the men (v. Case I on the division of family labour).

241 In general it appears that as the younger age-groups
592 are educated and emancipated unpaid field work is avoided.
[178] The only remuneration noted was limited to small 'pocket-
[465] money' donations and even these went to sons working full-time with their fathers (Cases X, XI) and not to daughters. Here then is the problem. The farmer is faced

241 592 (a) with the labour of members of his family limited, in many cases, as far as the women and girls are concerned to casual assistance and to grudging work by his sons until they can find some paid employment away from the home farm, and

241 464 [461] [465] (b) with the high cost of non-family labour at between £1 and 30/- per eight-hour day where a member of the family would have worked from early morning until sundown. Moreover the supply of hirable labour is by no means great nor readily available and, unless a general economic collapse forces a return to the land, there are no indications of any improvement in the position. Rather is agricultural labour likely to become scarcer and more costly.

241 [461] The problem is considerably aggravated by the fact that as already suggested, the particular characteristics of Maltese farming demand an intensive application of manual labour, both in the maintainance of the more precarious fields as well as in cultivation. Something of the detail of this need emerges from a consideration of the timetable of the Maltese farmer both as regards the annual cycle of activity and the daily round of farm-work.

TIMETABLE

221 241 The timetable of the Maltese farmer is more diverse and varied than is at first apparent. It is convenient to distinguish the daily timetable proper from the annual calendar of events. Under traditional peasant farming conditions there appears to have been a much greater degree of uniformity but as farming has been 'commercialized' so has the range of variety increased.

175 178 221 241 The peasant field-tiller depended on climate, on the crop cycle and on the sun. The year's round of field-work a century ago is recorded in an 1849 "Calendario dell'Agricoltore" (B/355) which listed the major farm activities of each month along with short articles on subjects of interest to the farmer of the time. Many of these topics, such as silk, olives, aniseed, cotton, honey, almonds, and tobacco, would not merit such prominence in a modern version of the Calendario[21]. More striking still is the emergence, since 1849, of dairying and stock-rearing, which was scarcely mentioned in the Calendario but has more recently grown to first importance for a large part of the farming community. [234] [233]

178 241 Changes of such magnitude over the century can be expected to affect the routine of farm-work and of village and family life. In the mid-nineteenth century, Maltese farming was still very much more 'peasant' than 'commercial' and the change between then and now becomes clear when a

178
241 modern calendar of events is considered.

As random sample illustrations three farmers' accounts of their own work during 1957-58 are analyzed[22]. At least they reveal something of the variety that now exists between one farmer and the next.

241 (1) A full-time field worker (Case X) usually working
461 with his brother and a nephew and having some irrigable land.
221 An analysis of the routine of this man is given (Case X; E, v. Work Analysis) and, from the same material, Mitchell has made a detailed study of time/labour utilization (B/525). A summary of this, which is on the basis of the ten hours per day worked by each of the three men over the year 1957-8, is also included in Case X.

(2) The second example relates to an arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce (Case XI; E, v. Work
[592] Analysis). This man is helped in the fields by his wife and family. The analysis illustrates the main features of this 'irrigated' farmer's year (although in the year studied there was an exceptional loss of time in the Autumn due to storm damage) and should be compared with (1) above. Irrigation accounts for about a quarter of the months May-July but occupies a mere two afternoons in the period November-February. Cutting and reaping accounts for even more time in July than does irrigation: by October plowing is the largest single item apart from "No work (storms)". In November, planting and sowing account for slightly more time than "collecting greenery" and is by far the main work of December (potatoes). General cultivation work occupies much of the next two months but pruning and grafting of vines is the biggest single item of February. The parallel between this and (1) is clear, apart from the special emphasis, on fruit - largely apples - in the former case.

234 (3) A Goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping
221 (Case II; E, v. Work Analysis) provides the third
461 sample study. In 1957 - 58 this herdsman spent all but thirty afternoons "grazing the goats" - on only one Sunday or 'festa' day did he not go out with his animals. This illustrates an important feature. While Sundays and Holy Days are normally kept free of field-work, work with animals has to be allowed. The herdsman is consequently much more tied to his farm than is the predominently arable farmer. He has a set daily schedule of feeding and milking the animals and cleaning out their stalls, etc., and can expect to have to adhere to this especially if he is working alone or with very little help. In fact the herdsman spends a considerable amount of his working year on

234 (i) the grazing mentioned,
(ii) cultivation of fodder crops,
221 (iii) tasks connected with the animals such as collecting
461 milk receipts from the M.M.U., cleaning, building and repairing accommodation for the animals, taking animals for slaughter or caring for them if sick.

And this emphasis is even more strongly seen among the increasing number of dairy farmers in Malta relying on cows rather than goats, as a result of current guaranteed milk sales.

The essential difference between herdsman and field-tiller is, thus, that animals require constant attention throughout the year and demand a much more rigid daily schedule. In (3), care of the animals directly or indirectly takes the greater part of every working day.

221 The annual calendar of activities reflects the way in
24 which the farmer's life and work are bound up with the
178 elements which govern his environment. The storm damage of
181 late, 1957, a serious economic set-back, was regarded
[731] fatalistically by the farmer. As soon as possible the normal routine of work was resumed and losses accepted with a great deal of talk but little action. The differences between the annual farming calendar of 1849 and that of today, illustrated by the above three examples, have included the extension of one crop at the expense of another. But even the reasons for such basic changes as the replacement of cotton by potatoes were not understood by the farmer. Cotton, for example, had become so firmly entrenched that only in face of impoverishment was it relinquished. The illiterate farmer suspects any innovation with which he is not familiar on the principle of "Better the evil you know than that you know not". He lives in a world where he sees himself fighting against forces over which he has no control. These include the climate, the Maltese economy, foreign trade conditions and, particularly, "them" - otherwise "Il-Gvern" or the Government and officialdom in general. He is also competing with his fellow farmers, but with the ways and wiles of these he is better acquainted.

24 This whole question of mental 'attitudes' to external
46 factors is held to be crucial in a study of illiterate
178 or recently-illiterate farming folk and is given further
181 consideration (Section 4). Suffice it at this stage to emphasize its importance in understanding the apparently illogical or irrational element which creeps into such a basic part of farming as the use of time. This becomes clear when a detailed cost-accounting of man/hours against productivity is made. Much of the work done is uneconomic in the sense that a great amount of time is spent with no

241 461 178 181 direct result. The farmer in (1) spends more than a fortnight each summer gouging tree pests from his apple orchard, a tedious and monotonous task for which the cost would be enormous if any account were made of the labour involved. He has always accepted this task as one of the essential jobs in his fields, presenting itself each year as regularly as the seasons. Today he is wondering whether the same result might not be achieved within the space of a few hours by the application of some spray treatment (Case X).

241 461 This is certainly not to suggest that the Maltese farmer has ever consciously wasted his time. The opposite is the case. Visitors to Malta and Gozo since the eighteenth century have been full of praise for the farmers of the Islands and for their diligent industry. The fact is that the physical limitations of the fields and farms are such that agriculture in the Islands has been maintained and developed only by the application by the farmer of meticulous [464] hand-labour. Today a critical shortage of this very labour is producing a state of doubt and tension in the industry. The question is being posed as to whether some forms of mechanized development can replace traditional manual labour. In view of the characteristics of the rural landscape of the Islands possibilities seem limited.

241 461 178 The farmer's daily timetable, with its long hours of monotonous toil for comparatively little remuneration, is producing a younger farming generation embittered with their inability to do a day's work on the farm in eight hours only and frustrated because independence - in their terms - is denied them. They are tied to the farm and the animals and unable to take as much leisure as their counterparts in 'urban' jobs. Independence for them implies the freedom to take time off from the farm in which to make themselves socially as 'urbanate' as possible. Independence for their fathers' generation is not the same thing. Here is seen a vestige of the traditional peasant way of life which was essentially independent in its family and village self-sufficiency. Thus the old farmer's concept of independence is the ability to rule himself and to work his long hours as he inclines. The liberty to sit with his goats between siesta and sunset, with no foreman and no questions, is in fact part of the attraction which keeps the older farmer in farming at all. It is by no means the whole story because he knows well enough that in his case it is too late to think of acquiring any of the education which he sees as the key to things better than farming. The younger generation do not see things in this light at all and regard their education as a means of escape (section 1).

as a means of escape (Section 1).

512 241 234 The nature of the farmer's daily timetable depends on
(a) the type of farm-unit involved,
(b) the labour force available,
(c) location,
(d) season.

The farmer's day begins, on average, between 4 a.m. and 4.30 a.m. Extremes are found in the case of herdsmen who often rise much earlier - at 2.30 a.m. in the case of the Gozitan with a large herd of cows and only a limited milking labour force, or after 5a.m. or 5.30 a.m. for a herdsman whose farm is close to an M.M.U. collection depôt. The M.M.U. require herdsmen to deliver their milk at such a depôt for transportation to the pasteurizing centre at Hamrun or, in Gozo (after 1958), to the new milk centre at Xewkija. Before this latter addition to the milk industry, which is expected to cope with all the Gozo-produced milk in both pasteurizing and other processes, it was possible for a herdsman (Case I) in north-western Gozo to have to rise as early as 12.30 a.m. Generally, in the summer, reveille for the field worker might be an hour or so earlier than in winter so that he and, even more, the herdsman might expect to begin most of his working days in darkness.

[711] The first event of the day for many country people is Mass. Some are regular attenders at one of the services between 4 and 6 a.m. Others, living further from a Church or having very heavy commitments of work, are less so. Field workers frequently take the Mass on their way to the work of the day (Case X).

[264] Breakfast is invariably a very light meal of little more than bread and tea or coffee. It is taken sometime between reveille and about 9 a.m. and does not constitute a major halt in the work of the farm. Milk producers in most cases do not breakfast until the animals are milked or even until they return with their carts from taking the churns to the M.M.U. collection depôt in the nearest village.

[264] [461] The main meal of the day is lunch, taken somewhere between 10.30 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. and followed by a siesta of up to three hours. The herdsman's siesta is less flexible than that of the farmer for a 1 p.m. afternoon milking limits the time available. The milking over, the goat-herder takes his animals out to graze on a suitable patch of waste ground or stubble until 5 or 6 p.m. - or later in the summer (Case II). The milk is taken to the collection depôt with minimum loss of time especially in hot weather. In the case of the herdsman with cows there is clearly no question of grazing these animals (Case VI), except in one case (Case IX).

except in one case (Case IX).

241 234 512 264 [262] The evening meal is generally smaller than the lunch although consisting of much the same elements - a thick stew ('brodu' or 'minestra'), along with bread, cheese, fruit, olives, tomatoes, etc. The consumption of meat and fish is in part governed by religion and in part by price and availability, though meat certainly figures much more prominently in the rural diet than formerly. The meal is taken soon after the return from the fields, about 6.30 p.m. and is followed, an hour or so later by the saying of a family Rosary before retiring for the night about 8.0 p.m. In Gozo there is a tendency for people to rise, eat, work and retire to bed rather earlier than in the larger Island and the smaller villages are usually dark and quiet by 7 p.m.

241 234 512 Apart, therefore, from external factors, such as M.M.U. collection or Church service timings, the daily timetable of the farmer and the herdsman depends to a large degree on his own volition. He knows what work is outstanding and can decide how and when he will do it within the limits imposed by the season, demands of animals, and so on. Thus, at a peak period of field-work, such as harvest, the farmer and his assistants may work on until the late evening - even through the night. During exceptionally heavy rains, as in October 1957, work on anything approaching the normal scale is, on the other hand, impossible and the farmer's day becomes one of doing what he can and complaining copiously meanwhile.

241 512 461 Midgo (B/516, p.236), writing in 1840, was impressed by the regular and assiduous labour of the Maltese farmer, even during the heat of the summer sun. "Il semble impossible, au premier abord, que le paysan maltais puisse résister aux chaleurs intenses de l'été. Cependant, au milieu des champs, dès le lever du soleil, on le voit, exposés a ses brûlants rayons, continuer tout le jour ses pénibles travaux. Il fait deux pauses: la première a huit heures; il se repose alors une demi-heure pour déjeuner; la seconde à onze heures; c'est l'instant de son dîner frugal, après lequel il se repose de nouveau jusqu'à midi en hiver, et jusqu'à une heure en été, tantôt à l'ombre d'un figuier, tantôt au pied du petit mur qui entoure le champ, la tête couverte d'un bonnet de laine, et le reste du corps exposé au feux du jour. Il reprend ensuite ses travaux avec la même vigueur, et ne se retire qu'au signal donné par la cloche de son village, c'est à dire au coucher du soleil".

572 241 234 178 The essentials of the daily round of the farmer have changed little since Midgo wrote except in so far as the tremendous increase in the importance of stock-rearing and

178 241 234 572 milk production (notably the growth in the number of dairy cattle in the Islands) has produced a new kind of operator in Malta, the cows' milk producer, for whom field work is secondary and then based primarily on the production of fodder for his animals and fruit and vegetables for the family.

572 527 796 [241] [234] Sundays and Feast Days bring a break in the routine. Work in the fields lapses but animals still have to be milked and fed. On festa days the whole village goes en fête and to Church. A procession of religious images, members of religious orders, priests, penitents and others to the accompaniment of fireworks and brass bands blaring through the bustle in the narrow streets and alleys fills the evenings of these not infrequent days of festa, fast and feast. These Holy Days and holidays have been the traditional breaks in the round of hard and heavy working [178] [575] days. The present younger generation still enjoys the merriment and processing of these occasions but the Band Clubs have lost for them something of their position of fifty years ago, and the cinema and bright lights of [461] Valletta provide alternatives and additions to the range of possibilities. The young villager of today wants time off not only on festa days but on ordinary working days as well.

527 796 562 575 The village festa is a communal celebration. Both men and women can share in the religious and social aspects. The Band Clubs established in the most villages during the past hundred years have however been solidly masculine (B/521). Other recreations of the farming community are 577 largely masculine pastimes such as shooting small birds, gossipping in the village squares and bars or at the M.M.U. collection depôt, watching the races at the Marsa course or arguing prices at the Sunday morning market 'Suq il-Monti' 577 443 in Valletta. In Gozo the big assembly early each Sunday morning in 'It-Tokk', the main square of Victoria, is the scene of much buying, selling and talking by villagers from all parts of the Island who come each week to the capital [184] [494] but rarely visit other villages. The focal pattern resembles that in Malta, where the bus routes converge on the Urban area and Valletta but provide comparatively little inter-village transport (B/381).

178 241 Dissatisfaction with the way of life outlined above, whether for economic reasons (the small remuneration per man/hour of effort), or social considerations (the low status of the farmer, fisherman and other country people) is producing a younger generation anxious to escape if at all possible from following in the footsteps of their fathers and, thereby, accentuating the problem of how the farms of Malta and Gozo should continue operating.

[178] [241] farms of Malta and Gozo are to continue operating.

It is hoped that some at least of the answer to this problem will come from co-operation and mechanization. The first implies the pooling of labour resources of individual farmers while the latter includes the whole range of developments leading to a replacement of hand labour, as far as possible under Maltese conditions, by machinery or by more efficient implements.

CO-OPERATION

[241] [476] Co-operation in field work between farmers is not new in Malta[23]. It is either permanent, where two or more farmers combine with each other to work a single farm unit, sharing profits and expenses, or temporary, as when two or more farmers share the use of a threshing machine at harvest.

An example of the permanent type is a case (Case VIII) where five brothers work one farm-unit as a team with one of their number being something of a primus inter pares. This [234] is an efficient and profitable arrangement with a substantial income accruing from the herd of some thirty head and the 70 tmien of land worked by the partnership.

Another case (Case XI) is that of two unrelated farmers working one farm-unit as partners after a lifetime's friendship. So completely are their resources pooled that it is not always clear what belongs to the one and what to the other. With their respective oldest sons (teenagers) these [233] [234] two men operate a holding of some 100 tmien and have in recent years joined in the change-over from goats to cows. Their joint herd now numbers some forty head, but as an economic unit is in a much inferior position to that of the first example.

A third example (Case X) shows two brothers working the fields held by them together but maintaining clear distinctions as to which brother owns which plot. This association has also endured for decades and now includes the full-time assistance of the oldest son of the brother.

An example of a temporary association is that where two or more farmers combine to thresh the grain of each man in turn, six being the optimum number for a threshing team which normally includes the owner-operator of the hired [178] threshing machine himself working as one of the team. In the days when the traditional threshing floor with the mule and hand-winnowing was the standard method of threshing (as before the 1939-45 War) different farmers would also join and help each other at the harvest. (Today this threshing floor method is confined to cases where a long straw is required.)

OOO Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against

241 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against 30.
494 exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta
407 in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknowledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. One of the earliest [427] tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a [422] decade there were comparatively few competitors. Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing. This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can [654] be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case - XVII).

178 (e) The high costs of fuel (Case - XVII) and the
407 frequent need of spare-part replacements on account of damage.

(f) The increasing area being put to vines (Case - XX).
The advantages of tractor-plowing to the farmer include
407 (i) the speed of operation, in contrast with the
427 traditional single-furrow wooden-plow working. Costs are therefore relatively cheap. They average about 15/- per tomna for tractor plowing and about £1 per hour for the hire of a threshing machine. Rotary cultivators can themselves be hired at between 10/- and 12/- per hour. A job [461] which would take a mule and plow a whole day is done in a matter of minutes by the mechanical plows.

(ii) the tractor-plow, or the rotary cultivator,
407 make it possible for one man to work a larger area than if
461 he had to rely on his own labour and hand-implements
464 (Case - XX). To this extent such mechanization is solving the problem of labour shortage.

427 For the contractor himself there is a social as well
554 as financial profit deriving from his machines. He has come to be regarded as rather higher in the social plane than the hand-labouring farmer. But his financial status is also clearly far above that of the field worker with no implements and his remuneration per man/hour of effort far [221] greater despite the limitations outlined above. The main disadvantage is the short plowing season over some three summer months or less. Some contractos hire their machines and services to builders and others out of the plowing season (Cases - XIV and XVII) while others own a threshing machine which brings in further contracts in the summer (Case XVII).

178 From what has been said it would appear that the large
407 tractor is not the answer to the labour problems of Maltese
427 farming, although it may bring considerable profit and
[434] advancement to the few dozen operators themselves. The present decline in this type of contracting has been noted. Charlton (B/381) maintains that this decline would be greatly accelerated if there were any large-scale return to the land in the near future. The small hand rotary cultivator is meeting with much more success and looks like going much further along the way to enabling a time/money conscious Maltese farmer to cultivate an adequate area with little or no paid hand-labour. Even this is however clearly limited by the point made earlier that the Maltese farming landscape has been built up by hand labour and much of it can only be maintained by that same meticulous attention.

407 Many of the large tractor plowing concerns described
472 above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partner-
474 ship. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator or tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellieha in Malta, and another at Ghasri, in Gozo.

407 Those two projects are attempts which, if successful,
474 may be followed by the setting up of other similar
648 co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E[27], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellieha and two more to a similar group in Ghasri. In each village farmers wishing to join
[429] the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Ghasri this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintainance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (Section 4). If the Mellieha and Ghasri projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

407 A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat
474 unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Ghasri co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the efficacy of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this section may then well be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along

407 474 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 341 654 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for produce handed in to the collection centres in each district. Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never known before and were able to build up often considerable financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

434 435 241 654 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite different conditions of competition from abroad, demands a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and milk production. He insists that responsibility for this subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on "Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities (bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 654 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U. This varies slightly with season and there is a difference of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

234 654 pasteurized milk at about this same price to the general public, regardless of the administrative, collection and pasteurization costs involved and the losses on surplus milk wasted. The subsequent deficit is born by the Government exchequer and may therefore be regarded as a Government subsidy to the milk producer. Its effect in the past few years has been immense in that it has encouraged herdsmen all over the Islands to increase their production to the maximum at the expense of arable cash-crops (Cases I to IX).

232 654 (b) As part of the general policy to improve farming in the Islands and, at the same time, to eradicate certain livestock diseases the Government has made available to herdsmen an exchange scheme whereby they may exchange diseased animals for newly imported stock. This has also included goats, some dozen of which could be exchanged for a cow. Along with this stock improvement policy has gone official limitation on the number of animals entering the Islands since the present overstocking is regarded as undesirable. Farmers have however not been slow to find ways round such limitations - one popular method of acquiring a cow having been, for example, for a farmer to buy in weak and ailing goats and effect an exchange of these for a healthy imported heifer.

654 (c) Of considerable help to the arable farmer as well as the herdsman has been the programme of 'Loans and Grants' ('Self u Donazzjonijiet') by the Government to farmers for the purpose of making capital improvements in the farm and its operation. The low-interest loans have been particularly popular and have already enabled many farmers to buy, for example, their own rotary cultivators (Case II). One important limiting feature in these loans has been the ignorance on the part of many farmers of the system and the suspicion felt by others of something new and not clearly explained.

(d) Of particular concern to the arable farmer have been the various distributions of free or subsidized seeds, potatoes, tomatoes, etc. In some cases the aim has here been to popularize some new departure from custom such as a variety of early potato new to Malta or to introduce farmers to the 'Balanced Ration' ('Ghalf Bilanċjat') experiments of the agricultural authorities.

242 654 (e) In this same category of aids to farming comes the recently-formed Agricultural Advisory Service, which has itself been responsible for many of the new moves mentioned and also for the series of public lectures to farmers (Section 4), which have been part of the effort to improve farming in the Islands by providing an up-to-date research

242 and information centre to which the farmer may turn for
654 advice and material help. Much discussed by the farming community in 1958 were the plans for a proposed artificial insemination centre to help in the improvement of stock in the Islands along with the provision of an efficient stud (Section 4). The early stages of the Advisory Service are outlined in B/252.

178 Thus a lot has been done and a great deal more said
241 about farming in Malta and its improvement and modification
654 to bring it more closely into line with present conditions
181 both in Malta and abroad. The farmer's characteristic conservatism has to be overcome at every stage (v. Section 4)
[234] but where he sees a clear prospect of quick profit he is not slow to move. The outstanding example of this is the guaranteed milk sale through the M.M.U. which, in the space of a few years, has produced a revolution in dairying in the Islands.

433 The herdsman is not concerned with an increasing milk
654 surplus in the Islands as a whole. While the guarantee
234 remains he will continue to put every effort into selling more gallons each day and to subordinating cash-cropping to fodder production in his fields (Cases I to IX). It is certainly keeping him in farming but it is not, apparently, having the same effect on his son.

SECTION 3 : The Farmer and Living Standards

MONEY

433 In the early nineteenth century the Maltese farmer was
434 a 'peasant' in the sense that he was engaged in small scale
178 subsistence farming with the help only of his family.
[175] Economically and socially he saw little beyond his family, farm and village. There were very few wants which could not be supplied at home, or at least within the village. In 1958 one heard of a now almost mythical Maltese countryman of a hundred years previously whose annual expenses in terms of money totalled 6d : 3d for paraffin and 3d to have his horse shod! Today, the farmer who spoke thus of his predecessor receives about £300 for the milk which he sells each year (Case I) as but one item in a present annual turnover of several hundred pounds which characterizes modern 'commercialized' agriculture in Malta where the farmer produces for sale. He still provides much of the food for his family but he is no longer a peasant.

178 Thus the place of money provides a basic distinction
436 between the present 'commercialized' position and that which
437 prevailed under traditional peasant farming. A century ago money and financial transactions in general featured only

178 to a limited extent in the life and work of the average
436 farmer, and barter as a medium of exchange had a far greater
437 importance than in recent decades. Family labour within
the home went unpaid, but even where wages were paid they
465 were very small indeed, both relatively and absolutely when
compared with modern amounts (Section 2). Examples, for
comparative purposes, are given by the 1836 Royal
Commissioners (B/184), Midge (B/516) and Price (B/556),
but even as late as 1911 a day's wages in farm-work might
178 have been something of the order of 1s 3d (B/186). From
454 this same report however, it is learnt that the farming
community had by that date become investment conscious and
had passed through a sequence of stages:

(a) hoarding "their small capitals" (B/186-12473),
(b) investing in jewellery,
(c) saving with the aim of buying a house,
(d) depositing in savings banks towards this aim,
(e) "Now they want bigger interest than the banks will give them and they are investing in foreign bonds" (B/186-12475).

178 The changed place of money in Maltese rural society
465 today is exemplified by the field labourer of fifty years
[461] ago who received 1s 3d for a dawn-to-dusk working day
where his grandson now expects 25/- or 30/- for a limited
eight hour day, if he can be persuaded to indulge in field
work at all. The developments observed by the 1911
Commissioners were by no means general among the rural
population at that time. They were in fact merely the
178 first limited signs of what was to come. However, between
433 1911 and 1939 the Maltese farmer moved steadily towards
722 the commercialism of today. The Second World War brought
465 siege conditions of shortage which put the food producer
in Malta in a more commanding position than ever before.
He could expect very high guaranteed prices for his produce
- or even higher ones on the black market. Farmers became
used to the idea of big financial returns for their labour.
[454] Some were able to effect substantial savings under distorted
war-time market conditions, but more widespread still was
the feding, which carried on after 1945, that farming in
Malta ought still to produce, in competitive peace-time,
the profits of war time shortage.

178 The major underlying socio-economic trend has been
511 the great expansion in the range of demands of the country-
man. The traditional peasant subsistence farmer was
content to live off his own farm as suggested above but the
change to 'commercialism' in his farming along with his
social emancipation has widened the sphere of considered
needs. Diet has become more varied and now includes a
variety of food items not produced locally: clothing

178 standards demanded have risen; and luxuries, once almost
511 unheard of, are now becoming part of the expected pattern of the life of the countryman (Section 2). For most of these new needs the farmer has required money. Hence progress, to him, has become synonomous with the acquisition
178 of more money. Branches of banks have appeared in some
511 villages in both islands since 1945 and the countryman is
454 coming to accept this means of storing his accumulated
[453] wealth. The concern for bigger interest, first noted by the 1911 Commissioners, is replacing the traditional mere accumulation of wealth whether in money or in jewellery and other valuables.

178 There is still, however, a very strong element of
181 accumulation rather than investment in the finances of the
454 farmer. This is particularly the case with the older
511 generation who, as always, cling to the ways of the past because their lack of formal education makes them, apparently, unable to comprehend or adapt themselves to the workings of the present. Thus it is held that, while the younger generation have sought to urbanize themselves socially and economically with the money which now comes their way, many of the older generation, that is to say those who are tending to stay in farming today, have taken the 'new' money but have not changed their way of life or living standards to anything like the same extent. Thus dress, for example, is no sure indication of a farmer's wealth in terms of money and one hears of bare-foot, shabbily clothed countrymen with savings of £1000 or more. In traditional Maltese village society the uniformity which was the keynote (Section 1) encouraged the farmer to appear like his neighbour lest he be accused of deviationary tendencies: this feeling is often revealed today in the reluctance of the farmer to be the first to try a new method or crop in his fields for fear of becoming a laughing-stock.

Although the older generation do not strive to demonstrate their wealth in dress, habits, a new house, etc., and do not share the anxiety of the younger villager that he should look like a townsman and move to a 'good' - i.e. non-rural - district, their saving is not completely without aim. To resolve this point fully it would be necessary to consider the whole complex of traditional Maltese village society but for the present discussion some major features only will be outlined.

178 Dowry is one feature of traditional Maltese society
583 which is currently assuming different proportions to those
183 earlier held. It was regarded in the past as essential

178 for a man to provide his marrying daughter with as sub-
583 stantial a dowry as possible. This was partly in kind:
183 land, animals, etc., and partly in money. The size of a
[554] girl's dowry was one of the indications of social position and for many a poor man the provision of it would represent sacrifice and saving over many years, especially where there were several marriageable daughters in one family. In the past, many farmers' sons could expect to find brides among the families of the same village and farming background.
[182] Thus a dowry of land or other property was an admirable way of building a farm-holding and was one of the counters to fragmentation consequent upon the system of land inheritance (B/525). Such an arrangement caused the minimum disruption in work and residence. However, as contacts between parts of the Islands have increased and marriages between individuals from different villages and also from differing economic backgrounds have become more common, a dowry of land is often quite inappropriate. Money takes its place and the desire for financial accumulation on the part of the fathers of girls of marriageable age leads them to put more emphasis on money and its investment.

178 Another development which has put money into an altogether
454 new perspective for the Maltese farmer has been his growing
423 desire to own the house in which he lives. As seen
471 (Section 2), most of the land worked by the farmers in the Islands is not owned by the operator concerned and this applies to the farm buildings and the house occupied by the family. As the farmer becomes ownership-conscious the first step is understandably to acquire his own home, a feature observed by the 1911 Commissioners. Having bought his house, the farmer turns his attention to the purchase of other parts of the land which he cultivates, but, even before doing this, he wants capital to enable him to build up the live-stock side of his holding. The importance of meat and dairy stock-raising (v. Section 2) has increased rapidly in recent years - especially since the 1939-45 War, and the need for capital in such cases is clearly much greater than in a farm unit based solely on arable cultivation where lease- or rental-holding is a convenient and accepted method of tenure (B/525).

178 Similarly, the spread of mechanization in Maltese
654 farming after 1945 (v. Section 2) brought in a need for
[426] capital. The Government added to this money consciousness with financial encouragement to farmers (in an effort to keep them on the land) in the form of very low interest loans for capital improvements of the farms and their equipment. The Government policy in connexion with milk

6:Beeley K-S (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

178 (the guaranteed price system for milk sold to the M.M.U.)
454 has had a similar effect. It has encouraged the farmer to
turn to milk production and to increase his herd to the
[234] maximum (Section 2).

Briefly therefore, the position is that the farmer in
178 Malta and Gozo is now faced with a variety of factors
511 tending to make him money conscious to a degree unknown to
434 his grandfather - who spent the 6d per year already mentioned.
These factors basically underly the complex of socio-
economic changes which have brought and are bringing improved
living standards, "emancipation" and a greater range of
demands:

(a) In diet, clothing, recreation and 'luxury' fields the farmer is demanding more than before, and this means money.

(b) The traditional pre-occupation with saving has been diverted towards the saving and investment of money rather than the accumulation of kind. Dowry is one example.

(c) The raised circumstances of the farmer have made him anxious to own his farm, and especially his house and (with the recent emphasis here) his animals.

(d) Anxious to get the most out of his holding within the present commercial system he is keen to develop his farm by acquiring machinery (with possible help from a Government loan) or by making some capital
[464] improvement. Suffering from shortage of labour, he wants to be able to pay hired farm labour the high wages demanded. His own children work away from the home farm.

[722] (e) The artificially distorted market conditions in siege and war-torn Malta between 1939 and 1945 put the farmer in a commanding financial position, which he continues to regard nostalgically as a Golden Age of Maltese farming. He has never fully been reconciled to his now changed position.

DEBT

173
434 Thus, where the peasant farmer of a century ago saw in
[471] his farm the means of providing for the various needs of the family, the modern farmer in Malta regards his holding, his animals, and equipment, as the means whereby he can make the money which he needs to buy more new items, to expand
[184] his property and to build up his capital reserves. This is the picture as it would be ideally and as it is for a very small section of the farming community: one of the major problems of Maltese farming today is that it is by no means the position among the great bulk of the rural and farming
178 population of the Islands. If, having observed the present
426 position of money and the demands upon which it is based,
434 one turns to a more detailed examination of the financial status of the Maltese farmer the true nature of the problem emerges. Far from acquiring the money which he expects,

6:Bosley K-S (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

be suffering from economic near-strangulation because the working of his farm-unit is linked with a fluctuating but permanent element of debt. This is because the factors mentioned above as producing the need and demand for money are operating, but the farmer and his farm-unit are unable to hold their own in the present agricultural economy of Malta; this in spite of the artificial boosts of Government loans, guaranteed prices, free gifts, agricultural development schemes, information services, etc.,(Section 2).

178 434 There is a range therefore between the farmer who is proving able to advance financially and he who is not, even to the state of impoverishment. The problem of the latter may be considered from two view-points, the economic and the social. Economically, the difficulty is clear. Many farm units as they exist today cannot hope to provide an income, after expenses have been met, which will support the family and allow of expansion or even maintainance of the unit. The social problem is less easy to define. It would appear that many characteristics of the traditional peasant farming system of subsistence and independence of each farm unit still remain beneath an often thin veneer of [212] commercialization and modernization. This is related in large part to the lack of education of the farmer himself. The farmer of today in Malta is an old man and ageing who has been but little affected by the developments in education, in its widest sense, which are turning the ambitions of the present younger generation of the farming community towards the towns and towards non-agricultural pursuits. At heart, the present Maltese farmer is still in very many cases thinking as a peasant, isolated and independent, in a farming system now essentially commercial, competitive yet inter-dependent. Financial profits and losses now rule his life but the farmer is, in a disturbingly large number of cases, partly unable and partly unwilling to adapt himself and his farm to the new conditions.

178 234 434 Something of the effect of the both the economic and social aspects of the problem may be gathered from a study of a number of sample cases:

426 (a) A goats' milk producer, living just within the boundary of the Urban area of Malta (Case V), operated during 1957 with a persistent debt on the maintainance of his animals, the basis of his livelihood. During the year, the milk production of his herd varied between 70 and 30 lbs per day. This was sold for the official guaranteed prices and to this extent may be seen as a constant element. Produce from the tomna of land held by the [451] farmer was used in the home but made only a minor contribution to the food budget. This man keeps no accounts of the costs of maintainance of his herd and profits therefrom. He is operating in a perpetual state of debt. A table of

178 234 434 426 [654] his income from milk sold and expenses on fodder during nine months of 1957 (Case V, Summary) illustrates the progress of this debt. He looks back nostalgically to the days when his father sold milk from door to door in the Urban area and complains bitterly of his present poverty. Incongruously, however, he insists that he fully realizes that without the present Government guarantee (through the M.M.U.) he could not operate at all. He probably does realize this.

(b) Another case of operation within permanent debt is provided by two cows-milk producers who work together as a unit (Case IX) with three dozen head of cattle and a total area held of about 100 tmien used primarily for the production of fodder for the herd. They claim that the debt factor makes it impossible for them to organize their farm and herd as they would wish. For example, while they fully realize the profit to be gained by rearing calves and selling fully grown animals, they are in fact forced to sell even female calves (which they would otherwise keep) in order to pay instalments towards the cost of cows or to pay off part of the debt outstanding to the fodder merchants. This debt position makes them reluctant to take on any further loan commitments; nevertheless the Government loan offers at only 1% are definitely attractive, as a means whereby they would be able to increase the number in their herd and also mechanize their field-work without making their debt position appreciably worse. Behind all this it is clear that they are basing all their hopes on the guaranteed milk price offered by the M.M.U. and they are therefore intent on accumulating animals and thereby supplying the M.M.U with as much milk as possible.

178 234 434 654

They have no thought or care as to what might happen were the official guaranteed price to go, along with the subsidy which supports it. In fact they have singularly little appreciation of the total picture of which they form part and will be content to grumble quietly and ignorantly as long as the present artificial situation brings them a steady income. They are both illiterate (Case IX).

[212]

(c) An illiterate farmer and herdsman (Case VI) keeps no accounts of the finances of his farm working. The money of the household is "kept in one purse" from which all expenses, farm maintainance and improvement, household expenses and all 'extra' items such as the provision of dowries and Wedding costs, etc., are met. This farmer admits to having been able to save more than £1000 as a result of the 1939-45 War but observes that today they "have a hard job to earn the daily bread". He claims that the savings had all gone by 1958 - partly on improvements to the house but mostly on the purchase of cows as part of his grand design to join the hundreds of other farmers in Malta and Gozo striving to ride on the crest of the wave of the M.M.U. guaranteed price for all milk produced. It is held that this pattern is typical of Maltese farming, and particularly dairying, today. The main energies of the farmer are devoted to making as large a profit as he can while the artificially-supported market for milk is maintained.

178 434 454 234 654 [451]

(d) A literate part-time farmer (Case XIII) keeps accounts of the working of his farm. His second employment brings him in over £5 per week for all but a few weeks of the year and at the expense of only a small amount of his time and effort. In a normal year he reckons to make an income of about £450 of which about a third goes in costs of seeds, transport and manure, etc. and a further £50 in hiring labour. On account of the steady income from his other job farming has something of the quality of a hobby, a pursuit to be followed

178 434 241 [511]

178 because he has always been used to doing it and one which
434 enables him to provide many of the food items needed by
241 the family. Moreover he feels that his sons, who emigrated some years ago, will eventually wish to return to Malta and will be still enough attracted to the way of life which bred them to want to cultivate a small piece of land themselves during their retirement.

For this man, therefore, farming lacks the character of the bitter struggle with debt which it has for (a). To this extent he is typical of the large and growing number of part-time farmers in Malta today whose livelihood is provided by their non-agricultural job but who maintain a sort of residual interest in the land both as the source of 'extras' and as a link with the farming community from which they are but one generation, or less, removed.

156 The link with the land, mentioned under (d), gives
241 both the full- and the part-time farmer a sense of
426 independence to which he clings despite the inadequacies of farming from the economic point of view. This sense of independence is revealed in cases where the farmer is not prepared to consider taking a loan, even from the Government at only 1% interest, partly because, as he says, he is "not used to it", but rather perhaps because the variable fortunes of farming (crop failure, storm damage, market fluctuations, etc.) might make him unable to continue payment of the interest on the loan. He wants to be beholden to no-one. Even the house in which he lives was bought by him from his own savings without the help of loans (d).

THE FAMILY BUDGET

472 It appears that MONEY is a variable but important
511 factor in the operation of the modern Maltese farm as an economic or uneconomic unit. Money within the household, as distinct from the farm, merits further consideration.

As already suggested, there is generally no clear distinction made by the farmer between the finances pertaining to his farm and those of his family and its maintainance. The most common practice is for there to be "one purse" (Cases VI and X). Into this go all profits from sale of produce or livestock and out of it come the costs of running farm and household. As seen, the farm unit itself is not run with a budget in most cases and there is rarely any attempt on the part of the farmer to cost-account the working of his farm as far as the labour of his family and himself is concerned [457] (Case X). Similarly it is still the exception rather than the rule to find a herdsman who keeps cost accounts of his milk production. In many cases he knows he is making a loss, though of the details he has no notion. In carrying on his farming under these conditions he seems

472 to be suffering from a mixture of inertia and pure inability
511 to organize the accounts of his business. In some cases he
[65] is compelled to put forward an outline statement for income
[157] tax assessment but generally his illiteracy and suspicion makes him unwilling to trust other individuals with details of his income and expenditure.

571 Within the family, however, this suspicion does not
454 normally exist. In fact the housewife tends to have full
[593] call on the contents of the "one purse" although in only a few cases was it found that she was making any detailed attempt at budgeting for the expenses of her home and family. As with the operation of the farm so with the home, the money is dispensed as demanded but all the time the instinct to save, observed by the 1911 Royal Commissioners (B/186), is there. The traditional peasant idea is
[178] that a large hoard of money or valuables will serve as an insurance when the expected depression arrives. Despite the opinion of the 1911 Commissioners, the notion that the saved capital would be better invested, possibly in capital equipment, is only now spreading to a considerable part of the farming community of the Islands.

511 In the day-to-day expenses of the traditional Maltese
437 village household, barter played a considerable part.
178 Today instances of it are rare and money is the fully accepted medium of exchange. As already indicated the Maltese farmer is not so far removed from his peasant past as may at first sight appear to be the case and one of the basic aims of his farming is still the provision of food
[433] for his family. The average farm in Malta, whatever its basis (stock, dairying or field produce), usually strives
[294] to produce as much of the food needs of the family as possible, though the provision of the family's clothing, as in the past when home-grown cotton was spun and woven to make clothes for the members of the grower's family. is no longer attempted.

262 Thus the food bought in by the farmer's wife include
438 the 'new' items of diet which cannot be grown on the home farm: preserves, processed cheeses, spaghetti and farinaceous pasta, processed meats, tea, coffee, and evaporated milk (inordinately popular throughout the Islands).
[656] Flour rationing since the early part of the 1939-45 War has killed bread making as a home industry. Meat, except for rabbit, fowl and small birds, has to be purchased, as all
[433] slaughtering is Government-controlled. The farmer does aim to produce the basic vegetables - potatoes, beans, peas, pumpkins, melons, tomatoes, onions, garlic, artichokes, endives, celery, cucumber, carrots, and fruits - oranges, apples, lemons, figs, peaches, etc., required by the family.

262 369 In respect of diet an important distinction between town and country emerges. In the towns the diet is essentially 'Italian' with the full complement of spaghetti and other pasta dishes while 'English' food is now also readily available; but in the country districts there is notably less pasta and its place is taken by potatoes and other vegetables. The townsman who has in any case to buy all his food has accepted Italian ideas on diet with certain local, Maltese modifications, but the countryman, still able to produce much of his own food, clings to vegetables for the bulk constituents of his diet. Bread is however a staple of both town and country (v. Section 2).

272 273 262 511 A range of soft drinks, commercial wines, spirits (whiskey is very popular throughout Maltese society) are now standard elements in the diet, while luxury foods such as chocolate, biscuits and the wide range of sweet cakes ('qaq') are further examples of items which have now established themselves as needs and, consequently, as demands on the family purse.

178 291 Nowadays clothes (or at least the materials from which they are made) are bought by the housewife. This in itself has produced a minor revolution in rural economy. Traditionally the simple garments of cotton cloth were made at home or at least within the village and were worn by the field worker until they could be worn no more. Today a new range of clothing demands have appeared. The farmer now wants better clothes and footwear, but the greatest change is among the younger farming generation who want to dress like the youths of the towns. The retail sale of clothing in the rural districts has expanded rapidly, especially since the 1939-45 War years brought in the widespread use of military surplus material.

423 362 511 Housing is important in the present consideration because money is now being spent by the farmer both on buying his own house where he can but also on developing it and improving the furnishings.

[178] Having seen the comparatively well-appointed town dwellings he is not content with his poor country cottage.

178 511 There is also a wide range of incidental luxury or semi-luxury items which are being added to the list of 'needs'. Thus costs of travelling, entertainment and recreation all require money. Payments to the Church have now largely replaced the one-time gifts in kind, and taxes, paid by a few members of the farming community, can clearly only be met with cash.

451 511 [123] The first difficulty in investigating BUDGETS is the typical reticence to talk on matters financial. The second and more important draw-back is the aforementioned

457 511 lack of distinction between the money spent on the farm and that spent on the household.

In Case X there is an exceptional degree of trust and [593] co-operation between husband and wife. Unlike the average Maltese farmer, the husband in this Case (literate and English-speaking) keeps some check on income and expenditure in the form of receipts and documents relating to the Pitkal and other transactions. He observes that his keeping such vouchers was regarded as "a waste of time" by his contemporaries until an instance arose where they proved of major importance and benefit.

[454] At the end of 1957 he talked vaguely of a bank balance of £1,000. By April of the following year this had fallen to "£600" on account of certain heavy expenses (v. Case X). The period in question was financially atypical for this man because he was at the time rapidly expanding his herd of pigs, and he also suffered very badly from the severe storms of October, 1957.

The preparation of any kind of account for him or for any farmer like him is further complicated by the uncommercial approach which is made to the labour of the farmer himself(and in this Case that of a brother and nephew who normally work with him). Tasks are performed because custom demands that they are done and a job is not neglected because the return on it is insufficient. Thus [511] the labour of the farmer and his relatives does not figure as a cost in production (Section 2).

His income derives largely from the sale of fruit 434 (figs, apples, plums, pomegranates, etc.) but is variable. 454 In 1953 the two brothers shared £620 but in the 1956-57 458 season a larger amount of actual produce fetched only £340 to be shared between the two men. The nephew "receives something when a crop is sold". Other items sold in 1956-57 were grapes (£32) and smaller sales of tomatoes, sulla and potatoes. Thus in the 1956-57 season each of the brothers received a gross profit of about £250 on produce sold. This takes no account of food consumed directly by the family (for details v. Case X) nor of the virtual income in a poor year such as 1956-57 from savings. This feature is crucial. Given the normal conditions of peace, with no distortions as a result of war and siege, it becomes clear that the Maltese farmer is, in the great majority of cases, attempting to gain on the swings of the good year the saveable profit which he expects to lose on the roundabouts of a bad year not far [181] hence. This insecurity of his capital is important in his reluctance to lay out money on new methods of production or farm management and in part also echoes the conservation and inertia of the traditional peasant

and inertia of the traditional peasant.

STANDARD OF LIVING

178 511 [436] The past century and a half have seen the development from peasant to commercial farming, along with the adoption of money as the basis of exchange, and the appearance of a large range of new demands in diet, clothing, housing, luxuries, recreation, etc. Some observations on the living standards of the farming community during the period are now indicated.

175 511 369 178 Speaking of living standards in the Malta of the early nineteenth century Price considers that "an identity and cohesion prevailed not only in major economic trends but in the economic habits of the people" (B/556, p.8). Thus "In these circumstances it is possible to examine together the habits of rural labourers, urban labourers, artisans, small farmers and fishermen...." (B/556, p.9). Price holds that during the first half of the nineteenth century there was in fact little change in the living standards prevailing in the Maltese Islands despite the fluctuations evident within the national economy as a whole. "Years of prosperity may have brought a slight increase in the ratio of wheaten to barley bread or in the use of novel clothing such as straw hats. But, it seems clear, the chief effect of prosperity was to increase the consumption of oil, alcohol and tobacco; these, together with his religion, ranked first in the list of desirable and important things in the minds of the Maltese flush with surplus cash. Presumably these were the things he hoped society would give while his traditional diet, clothing and shelter were the things he expected society to provide" (B/556, p.9-10).

175 434 369 Among the unskilled urban and rural workers there was a notable uniformity in wage throughout the period. Price speaks of 6½d for a day's work for a man (and about 1d only for a women) but observes that skilled workers, and especially those in dockyard employ, could expect very much more (B/556, p.9-10). For the mass of the labouring and farming community therefore income was of the order of a few pence per day but, as suggested, the prevailing self-sufficiency of the near-peasant farmer of the period made actual monetary income an inadequate indicator of standards of living. For the urban worker, on the other hand, lacking the farm basis, the low wage level meant poverty and hardship. More especially "Poverty..... pressed heavily on the under-employed" (B/556, p. 11).

175 288 The importance of cotton to the nineteenth century Maltese farmer has been discussed in Section 1. In 1839

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

175 the Royal Commissioners reported (B/184) that "The principa
288 manufacture of the casals[28] is spinning with the spinning-wheel, or sometimes with the spindle. Second to this is the weaving of canvas, cotton and cloth used for clothing by the country people, and the necessary preparatory work, 175 such as winding, beating the cotton, etc." But the
178 industry was then much weaker than it had been two
288 generations before and as it retreated during the nine-teenth century no ready replacement was forthcoming from [462] within agriculture itself. The farmer had to rely on other crops while, socially, the change affected the family as a working unit for cotton processing had been 175 largely the work of women. Even in 1839 a considerable
178 amount of blame for the prevailing low living standards
288 could be attached to the decline of cotton. The Commis-735 sioners reported that the prevalent poverty had become
511 worse since 1814 on account of the shortage of work and that unemployment was worst of all in the rural districts, the cotton areas, where the small wages not only precluded saving but also led to begging and stealing which was "One of the worst consequences of the prevalent poverty and at the same time a most active cause of it" (B/184).

Poverty, wages, sanitation and disease gave rise to much concern and investigation in the middle decades of the nineteenth century - especially in so far as the conditions of the labouring and rural classes were concerned. The Royal Commissioners' report in 1838-9 (B/184); Midge in 1840 (B/516); the Census two years later and those made in 1851 and at ten-year intervals thereafter (B/166,167); reports on sanitary conditions in 1867 and 1874 (B/223,226); on distress in 1824 and 1867-68 (B/205,207); on mortality in 1874-75 (B/225, et seq); and on cholera in 1865 (B/224), all threw light on the poor living standards of the Maltese. However the 1874-75 report on mortality did hasten to qualify its observations with [262] "Poverty, indeed, at present, is not generally so great as it was in former times (about 40 years ago), when the bulk of the lower classes, especially in the country districts, lived constantly on barley bread of the worst description" while "It must also be admitted that the sanitary condition of these Islands, generally, is not so bad as that of other countries, and that, of late years, it has improved..." (B/225, p.7).

175 The basic conclusion to emerge from this evidence
511 is that there existed a considerable gulf in general [369] living standards between the people of the towns and [464] those of the country. There was also an important [458] contrast within the most rapidly expanding urban area,

175 458 511 [464] [184] between the unskilled labourer and the skilled. This dichotomy was a regular feature during the nineteenth century, as in the twentieth, and is to be distinguished from the rise and fall of prosperity and depression which characterized the totality of economic life in Malta. Malta was highly susceptible to events in the Mediterranean basin and in Europe as a whole and was much affected by changes in trading patterns and in strategy, so that the fortunes of the Maltese fluctuated with the alternation of prosperity and depression during the nineteenth century. [731] The sequence of wars, trade booms and slumps, droughts, epidemics and other events which affected the Mediterranean in general was particularly strongly felt in vulnerable Malta (B/556).

175 184 511 178 The major economic developments arising from the growth of the dockyard and the consolidation of the Islands' role have been outlined in Section 1. The various stages in this expansion were reflected in the economic life and the living standards of the Maltese just as the chain of external events made their presence felt. In all this the fortunes of one section of the population, such as the farming community, could at no time stand unaffected by fluctuations within the economy of the Islands as a whole.

175 178 [184] Malta remained sharply divided within itself by class, district and education and the parallel differences of living standards between one section of society and another were continued. [871] But the later decades of the nineteenth century saw, on the social as distinct from the economic plane, the beginnings of general education which, during the present century, was to remove the illiteracy which had for so long prevented the rural classes in Malta and Gozo from having any experience of life and society outside the limits of the village. [184] [369] Improvements in transport and communication within the Islands and the spread of amenities from the Urban area to the villages in the later nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries further tended to remove the veil of isolation which had shrouded the villages of Malta and Gozo and kept them cut off from the social and cultural [621] changes of the towns. Traditionally, each village had been a closely-knit unit under a Parish priest, having little contact with Valletta and perhaps less with the villages in other parts of the Islands (Section 1).

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the forces indicated were beginning to modify the position but it was not until the present century and particularly

[178] [175] the years after 1939 that the cumulative effects of education, emancipation and communication were to produce a society very different from that which Maltese country [511] folk had known for centuries (Section 1). It became [184] different when the traditionally depressed sections of the community became restless and began to demand the improvements in their living standards which they came to believe should be theirs by right as well as need.

178 184 369 This is not to suggest that the present position of Maltese rural society is an 'end-product' of change. The opposite is true. The old and new exist side by side in agriculture and in the farming community of the Islands today. Some people, some places, and some features of life and work hold far more tenaciously to the old than do others where comparatively few years have seen considerable modifications of the traditional pattern.

175 458 469 511 By 1912, the Royal Commissioners were able to observe that the living standards of the labouring classes of Malta and Gozo compared well with those of other Mediterranean countries (B/186, p.25-6). "Building", they said, "is cheap and good and the country people are exceptionally well-housed". But, in their consideration of the economic state of the Islands as a whole, the Commissioners thought the picture much more gloomy. The depression which they found, though of only recent appearance, was being felt by the mass of the people, although "until the advent of the present depression, the condition of the people has been one of comparative comfort". To appreciate "The present distress, and the greatly extended unemployment of the working people of Malta.....it is necessary to recognise the entirely artificial nature of their former prosperity and employments, which depended to a large extent upon Imperial expenditure...." (B/186, p.12). Here did the Commissioners strike at the root of the problem which has grown to formidable proportions in the half-century since the report was made. They pointed to the position in which the economic structure of the country as a whole was based on the shifting sands of Imperial naval and military expenditure and in which the living standards of the Maltese population were therefore tied indirectly and directly to that Imperial expenditure. Moreover, within the Maltese population itself, it is not difficult to see that the first to be hit by a drop in Imperial expenditure (as happened between 1902 and 1911 and, again, in the post-1945 period) were and are the labouring and poorer classes generally lacking alternative employment in the Islands, in the event of their becoming redundant, and having often little or no capital reserves.

175 Here the agricultural labourer has been in a much stronger
958 position than the townsman for he has had the land to which
164 he could return when no other work was available. Thus the
369 degree of emphasis on the land within the past hundred years is seen to have varied inversely as the general level of prosperity in the Islands (Section 2).

173 The recent growth of part-time farming in Malta may be
241 related to an attempt by the countryman to benefit from the
964 higher wages and status attached to non-agricultural
958 pursuits and yet at the same time to maintain the foothold
[554] on the land as if he were contemplating retreat thither in some future period of major economic recession and depression in the Islands. The difficulty here however is that Maltese farming as it is cannot support more than a minor part of the total population. As an economic retreat it therefore has severe limitations: but the
[554] problem goes further. The present younger generation in the farming community, in its anxiety to free itself from the stigma and status of farming and village life, is cutting as many ties with the land as it can - and as quickly. Therefore the foothold in farming, even for the few who might rely on it in time of distress, is weakening. The estrangement threatens to become too complete to allow of reconciliation.

175 Something of the change in twentieth century Maltese
465 agriculture may be seen from that afore-mentioned index, the wage rate. Without attempting a full analysis which would necessitate a consideration of the changing wage structure within the total employed sector of the population, an indication of average wage-rates for sample years available illustrates the steady level in the nineteenth century followed by a gradual increase in the first decades of the present century, and, after the 1939-45 War, a rocketing in the generally accepted level of the agricultural wage. It may also be observed that the agricultural wage, while generally lower than the average labouring remuneration during the nineteenth century is, today, equal to or even more than the general labourer's wage - an indication of the prevailing supply and demand of agricultural labour.

Daily wage of male agricultural labourers:

1826-42	6½d - 8d	(B/556, p.215)
1843-54	8d - 10d	"
1855-56	1s - 1/6d	"
1857-65	1/3d - 2/6d	"
1866-85	10d - 3/6d	"
1907-08	1s - 2/4d	(B/165 - 1907-08)
1921	3s	(B/165 - 1921)
1936	3s - 3/6d	(B/165 - 1936)
1957-58	20s - 25s	(Personal Investigation)

178 464 511 In a consideration of the standard of living of the Maltese population in general and of the farming section of it in particular during the present century it is seen that the two World Wars (1914-18 and 1939-45) saw tremendous upheavals in this aspect of Maltese life, as in so many others. In the case of the 1914-18 struggle "there is no doubt that the War first and principally and secondly the political events that have occurred since have completely altered and raised the standard of living of the working classes in Malta...." (B/130 - 1930, p.ix). A distinction is here infered between the working classes and the upper and professional or business classes whose previously higher standards were maintained unimpaired or even improved. The wage-rate index after the 1914-18 War gives only an intermittent picture as official statistics on wage rates in agriculture have been very limited. The Blue Books of the inter-War period observed that "No official information is available" regarding agricultural wages (B/165) but the Cost-of-Living investigations between 1943 and 1946 are little better for they are concerned almost exclusively with non-agricultural workers (B/213, 214, 217).

178 464 465 511 It does emerge, however, that the 1914-18 War brought little change in Maltese living standards when compared with the effects of the 1939-45 War. In 1946 it was decided that "The war years have produced improvements in the standard of living and we may hope that the working class family will never revert to the pre-war standard" (B/217, para.5). Costs to the consumer of food, clothing and other items had doubled and trebled between 1939 and 1946 (B/217, Appendix I, II, IIA) but wages had also increased. In 1936 an average wage for labour in 'trade and manufacture' was put at an annual £82, or about 31/7d per week (B/165-1936, Section 23). Even by 1943 an average weekly wage for such workers had grown to £2.16s, plus an average 'other income' of a further 18/6d weekly. Against this was an average total weekly expenditure of £3.12.9d (B/213, Appendix R).

Farm work had shared in the increased wages. A 1936 estimate for agricultural labour put the weekly rate between 21/- and 24/- (B/165 - 1936, Section 23). The 1943 report quotes one farm labourer, among its sample 100 workers, as gaining a total of £2.16s per week, or the same as the average 'earned income' (without 'other income') of all the sample 100 workers (B/213, Appendix R, No.90).

000 During the War years the farmer had been able to

During the war years the farmer had been able to
175 strengthen his financial position to an unprecendented
722 extent. The high prices which he could command left him
511 with a large reserve upon which to draw during the decade
454 after 1945. Today these reserves are dwindling and disappearing. In part they have been put towards capital improvements on the farm - notably the acquisition of cows and machinery (Section 2), and in part they have been spent
[369] on routine home and family maintainance. The farmer in post-War Malta and Gozo has been struggling to live up to 'Urban' standards, to many of which he was introduced as a
[426] result of the War. He has, in many cases, been living above his means to the extent of being perpetually in debt. He has somehow failed to adapt himself to his new position and still looks back nostaligically, at least from the financial point of view, to his commanding position during the siege.

434 Today the farmer's standard of living compares
511 unfavourably with that of the Urban working classes but
171 is notably higher than that of other farming communities
[369] in nearby Mediterranean countries. In rural Greece, for example, annual earnings frequently do not exceed £25, although the average per capita income for the whole country is over £60[29]. Yet prices for simple clothing and other essential items are often quite exorbitant, especially for the impoverished Greek farmer. A 1954 survey of seventy Libyan farms in the Zawia area of northern Tripolitania found an average 'farm earnings' of £136 per annum[30], but the present rate for casual farm labour in the area is some 5/- per day only (about £75 per annum) and even less in more rural districts[31].

Thus in Libya a field-labourer may expect to earn little more than half the income of a land-holding farmer.
[434] In Malta, however, the situation appears reversed, and the labourer without field commitments of his own can demand his 25/- for an eight-hour day and emerge, in many cases, markedly better off than the farmer who hired him and who stands the loss on unsold, unprofitable or damaged crops.

511 Within his own country the Maltese farmer has, on
434 average, a standard of life still slightly below the general level, although the disparity is by no means as great as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Above-average exceptions include those farmers who have been able to profit from the present regime of guaranteed milk sales by building up a large herd, or those who can still draw upon war-time savings or other accumulated reserves.

735 The C.A.R.E.[27] assessment of poverty made for the
434 purpose of free food distributions to poor and needy

747
648

735 747 434 648 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison. The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth and assets against family size. Thus a household of four persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for the free food[32].

162 735 434 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in addition, also listed separately. The residential divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

DISTRICT	A POPULATION[35]	B 'Poor & Needy' as % Population	C FARMERS[36]	D 'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	E B/D
Urban Area	134,389	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.8	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,478	10.8	3404	9.1	1.18
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,620	8.2	7813	9	0.91

369 735 511 162 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this zone are one third below the general level as far as their standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom 8% were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the whole population.

This pattern of comparatively low living standards in rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the problem with which this Section has been concerned. While farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in the Islands the younger generation of the rural community will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

The importance of the past in understanding the present in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3). The social background to this change is, however, no less important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work, thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and illiterate sections of the farming community this question of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems. In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is allegiance to political parties very significant for personality is more important than party. Historically, this attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands.

6:Beeley K-S (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

795 Another Malta-wide authority is the Church, but the summit of this is scarcely less remote to the farmer than is 'Il-Gvern' for in the normal practice of his religion he leans directly on the local church and priests.

829 To the farmer 'Gvern' is synonomous with control. Illiteracy has, in the past, made it very difficult for him to view authority with anything but suspicion. This has not been made easier by incompetent and condescending elements within officialdom whose actions, if any, have confirmed the doubts of the small farmer striving to provide his family with a living despite the odds against him - of which 'Gvern' was one.

178 Today the picture is changing. It is official policy
654 to "encourage investment and to improve farming methods so as to raise the efficiency of the industry to a level where it can provide a decent livelihood for those engaged in it"[38].

178 The farmers' reactions to efforts on his behalf are
156 particularly important at this crucial stage in the pro-
829 gress of agriculture in the Islands. Essentially his outlook retains much of the traditional reserve and caution of the illiterate peasant, an attitude apparent also in two further contexts, the organization within farming itself (Unions, Co-Operatives, etc.), and the farmers' attitudes towards society in general and rural society in particular.

829 The three aspects of the problem may be re-phrased as
156 (i) the farmer's attitudes to officialdom, espec- the Department of Agriculture, and 'Il-Gvern' generally,

(ii) his attitude towards other farmers and towards the industry as a whole,

(iii) his position as a member of a socially 'low' class within Malta.

[56] Within each of these the present gulf between the younger generation, with a degree of education and emancipation, and the older (including most of the Islands' full-time farmers) produces a further conflict of attitudes and aspirations.

684 THE FARMER AND GOVERNMENT

Official interest in agricultural development has increased very rapidly during the present decade and now includes a wide variety of measures aimed at improving farming by financial support and investment. These have been outlined in Section 2. There has also been an attempt to educate the farmer in better suited techniques and to make him aware of improvements which, it is believed, will increase the profit from his farm or herd. The problem here is seen to be twofold:

654 (a) to decide which crops, animals, feeding stuffs, machinery, methods of farm management, etc., are most likely to improve Maltese farming conditions, and

(b) to pass this information to a conservative and doubting farming public.

654 242 A central feature of official policy since 1956 has been the Agricultural Advisory Service (B/252), modelled on the parallel organization in the United Kingdom. In Malta this body has aimed to co-ordinate research and experiment with encouraging the farmer to adopt proven results. Within a short while of its inception the Service was concerned with detailed investigations into pig rearing, poultry feeding, dairying, potatoes, tomatoes, fertilizers and other agricultural topics in the Islands (B/252, pp.3-4). At the same time a great deal of importance was attached to demonstrations and lectures to farmers. In addition broadcasts were made over the Rediffusion system and these were supplemented by a certain amount of printed publicity.

654 242 544 232 The easiest part of the programme of lectures and demonstrations was to get farmers and others to attend the meetings. Those who stayed away did so either because they could not be available at the appointed time or, more usually, because they could not be persuaded that foreign experts could know anything applicable to farming in Malta which the local farmer did not know already. The attitudes of those who did attend was revealing. In many cases the novelty of the event was the attraction but there was also a large element of reasoned interest. Attendances varied from a few dozen farmers in some of the smaller villages to 200 in Xaghra and other large rural settlements, while, in January, 1958, no less than 700 people assembled in Rabat to be lectured by four of the specialists then working with the local Department of Agriculture, and to see a film on "Clean Milk". The reactions of this audience were typical of the response to the whole range of lectures and demonstrations and illustrate clearly the kind of problem which any would-be improver of agriculture can expect to have to face in Malta. There was, significantly, only one Maltese woman in the audience at Rabat of which some two or three hundred appeared to be non-farmers and concerned rather with free coffee in the interval than with the topics of the lectures. Of the rest, however, some farmers had made considerable journeys to attend while more than a few of these had never set foot in a meeting hall or attended anything in the nature of a lecture or lesson in their lives. For them it was a 'Sunday-best' outing. Even the bravest

654 of those present could not however be pursuaded to ask any
242 questions of the 'experts' or to develop any discussion,
544 although everything not in Maltese was translated copiously.
232 They were over-awed by the proceedings but were not slow to seize on topics raised by the speakers for future discussion among groups of farmers. The average age of those present was lower than that of the full-time farming population on account of the presence of large numbers of disinterested village youths and young men. But the true farmers themselves paid attention to what they were told and were especially impressed by the film.

Some of the points raised were dismissed as "not suitable for Malta". Some suggested measures were "interesting but unremunerative", notably the efforts, demonstrated in the film, to achieve cleanliness in milking. The farmer could not readily comprehend how he was to profit financially if he were to add what to him were needless tasks to an already heavy time-table. Yet, on the other hand, he was sceptical when told that many of the jobs which he is accustomed to performing could be replaced by more efficient methods. Being unable to read of farming outside Malta the illiterate believes that no methods could be better than those tried, tested and taught by his father and grand-father before him. Hence a major part of the work of an advisory service is "to create conditions which will give the farmer confidence in the advice given. The adviser must be above creed or party and honest in all his dealings. In addition, however, some inducement must be offered to the farmer to accept advice and the most powerful inducement that has yet been found is money - cash - a better price"[39].

657 232 One example of this inducement in practice was afforded by the study of pig feeding using balanced rations which was undertaken by the Agricultural Advisory Service early in its career. Haesler was able to show that "the high mortality rate in small pigs can be considerably reduced, and what is more important, losses in pig keeping have been turned into profits" (B/252, p.3). The farming public was assailed with Maltese-language leaflets[40] showing how the traditional pig feeding patterns were both wrongly balanced and generally excessive in quantity and encouraging pig breeders to invest in the prepared balanced rations ('Ghalf Bilanċjat') then on the market. This improved diet would, it was claimed, not only produce a better pig but would result in reduced costs of feeding. This prospect appealed to the farmer, who hastened to purchase the balanced ration particularly as such rations were subsidized by the Government[40] in order to encourage

654 232 their adoption. Sales soared after the ration appeared and the idea spread rapidly from farmer to farmer. Unforeseen difficulties soon emerged however and threatened to make the ration unpopular among pig breeders as quickly as it had become popular a short while before. Partly on account of ignorance and illiteracy and partly because of the lack of the correct kind of propaganda farmers began to find that the ration was not the magical remedy to their pig problems. A sample investigation, by the writer, in Gozo among farmers who had purchased the balanced ration showed that some of them had understood it to be a kind of medicine to be given in addition to the diet normally fed, others treated it as one item of the feed and mixed it with their normal ration to the pigs, while most common of all was the complaint that "I've been feeding the balanced ration for a week and there is no sign of the promised improvement so I'm using no more". Individuals of this latter inclination not only stopped purchasing the ration themselves but spread ugly rumours about it among their fellows. None of those with such complaints would consider approaching the Officers of the Advisory Service - as they had in fact been invited to do in the leaflet[40]. For them the new pig feed was a failure.

654 829 242 232 Illiteracy produces a feeling of inferiority in most cases which makes the farmer too timid to approach a department or an official on some problem. Moreover the written word is for them suspect. Therefore if they are to be persuaded to adopt new techniques in their farming the instruction will have to be personal and followed up with further help and advice when difficulties and lack of appreciation of what is intended emerge. For these farmers lectures are too remote. Demonstrations of new crops or cultivation methods, etc. are more likely to succeed but are insufficient in themselves. Unfortunately a large qualified staff of visiting advisers would be necessary to supervise farmers at such an individual level. In Malta this is not yet available. Even if it were the farmers' trust would have to be gained and maintained at every stage. In the past such trust has been conspicuous but its absence with the farmer believing that everyone with whom he comes in contact is anxious to take advantage of his illiteracy for their own gain. There has been no-one to give him professional, impartial advice on farming and the new Advisory Service with its free information and other help to the farmer is still something of an unknown quantity. The Agrarian Society (B/286) has in the past been responsible for a certain amount of research on agricultural topics in Malta but does not appear

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654 to have made its presence felt among the farmers themselves.

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242 When a greater number of qualified personnel are available the Advisory Service and its various ramifications may go a very long way to improving Maltese agriculture and raising the profit-margin and therefore the living standards of the farming population. But in its early stages it has had to concentrate on the present farmers of Malta and Gozo who are, as has been emphasized, not only often illiterate but frequently near retiring age as well. The younger generation of farmers' sons, on whom the future of agriculture in the Islands will depend, have had to be overlooked. But if they cannot be persuaded to stay in farming the improvements accepted after great effort by the generation of their fathers will mean very little.

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[575]
[874] In Malta and Gozo there is nothing to compare with the Young Farmers' Clubs of the United Kingdom; nothing in fact to serve as a nucleus around which an enlightened younger farming generation might develop. Neither is there anything in the Islands of the nature of an agricultural college where young farmers might be trained. It is possible that the primary schools in rural areas might provide a means of contact between the agricultural authorities and the children of the farmers but the difficulties which would arise are clear. Nevertheless such an approach as this might do something to alter the attitude to farming which is one of the biggest problems facing the industry in the Islands today. If farming and other rural children could be shown that farming is no less respectable than the variety of alternative occupations it might persuade them to stay in the industry long enough to build upon the improvements now being introduced.

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234 As was clear in the case of the balanced rations for pigs mentioned above the farmer is not slow to take advantage of a financial subsidy. The major example of this is the recent growth of the dairying industry with the guaranteed price to producers for milk sold to the M.M.U. (Section 2). In short, official policy here has been to make milk production profitable for the producer but at the same time to maintain a low consumer price for the pasteurized product - at a level producing a loss the
[433] cost of which is borne by the Government. The totals of milk purchased from producers by the M.M.U. reflect the rapid increase in this aspect of farming in recent years. Milk surpluses (partly losses) also increased markedly as did the percentage of milk deriving from cows rather than goats[41].

TABLE 3

Year	Purchased by M.M.U.		Surplus		Percentage cows' milk	
1943-44	510,000	gallons			27	
1948-49	776,000	"				
1950-51	1,298,000	"			35	(1951)
1952-53	1,795,000	"	99,000	gallons	44	(1951)
1954-55	2,390,000	"	275,000	"	48	(1955)
1956-57	3,542,000	"	391,000	"	57	(1956)

A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6) shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production. Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in time as far as the management of his farm is concerned so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricultural produce[42]. The fact that Maltese produce for export

439 suffers by being inadequately graded and packed does not concern him although the specialist working in Malta on marketing problems has stressed this as a primary weakness up to now (B/253). The farmer is further reluctant to [178] change to the production of certain 'early' varieties of potato which would sell much more profitably on the overseas market than does the Arran Banner which has been the predominant variety in the Islands for several decades.

178 241 The argument returns, in fact, to the thesis put forward in a number of contexts in this report that the farmer is still thinking very much as a peasant subsistence producer although to outward appearances he has now become a fully commercial, cash-cropping farmer. This outlook, the product of illiteracy and confined experience, will have to be appreciated by those concerned with any kind of improvement and development in the Maltese agriculture. It is the younger, literate generation of the farming community who would be capable of education in these terms - if they stay in agriculture to be educated.

654 426 In the long run it would appear that the most satisfactory kind of financial help to farming is the loan at very low interest rate (Section 2). The basis of this was the Agriculture and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, No.11 of 1956, which authorized the loans for approved capital improvement projects at only 1% interest per annum. A major result of the loan system was that it made the farmer independent of money-lenders and money-lending middlemen. Previously many farmers had suffered near financial strangulation in the grip of these indivuals, particularly where they were operating under perpetual debt (v. Cases V and IX). A second great advantage of the loan is that the farmer is able to improve his farm and farming and at the same time preserve that independence of operation so dear to him. Many of the subsidies on seeds, rations, etc. have forced him to use his money in a certain way. He much prefers if possible to have the money and spend it as he chooses on machinery, livestock and fodder, buildings, cisterns, irrigation equipment, land reclamation, and repayment of previous debts, etc.

654 426 454 One disturbing feature of the loans is, however, that they are putting a lot of money into the hands of the farmer without necessarily ensuring that it is spent to the best advantage of agriculture or to the farmer himself in a long term view. For example much of the money loaned has been put towards the purchase of livestock and accommodation for animals in order to increase milk production, while the present regime of guaranteed milk price remains. To this extent the loans have helped the

654 herdsman to produce a new over-grown dairy industry
426 (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this
454 Section).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has
467 been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly no less strained have been relations between one farmer and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has emerged on the administrative side of farming in the Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic
[474] co-operation (Section 2). The main outcome of this has been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed
[747] any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives (Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829 It has also precluded the development of a substantial
474 co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

829 The details of the Co-operatives as they do exist merit
474 a more detailed mention since it is likely that they will grow in importance in the future and concern a rather larger proportion of the farming population than at present.

474 In October, 1957, there were ten co-operatives in Malta concerned with the marketing of agricultural produce: Rabat (171 members), Żabbar (86), Dingli (78), Siġġiewi (59), St. Paul's Bay (52), Żebbuġ (37), Mellieħa (33), Qormi (23), Gudja (22), and Mġarr (16). All but two of these were officially registered in 1947[44]. The ten societies are independent but have delegate representation in an eleventh body, the Farmers' Central Co-operative. In addition, there were in 1957 two other Co-operatives in Malta, one with only the minimum twelve members who clung to their complete independence, and the Co-operative Stores Malta with 80 members, the sole consumers' society. Of the four Co-operatives in Gozo at the time only one had any capital or was able to organize a market centre for Gozo farmers. All four were concerned with the distribution of fodder.

474 The two features of the Co-operative movement impor-
829 tant in the present discussion are (i) the very small number of farmers who will have anything to do with it, and (ii) the fact that the movement was initiated not by farmers but by the Government, whose official policy is now to encourage the development of both consumer and producer co-operatives in the Islands[44].

The Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Ħalib) is an independent and privately run body to be distinguished from the official Milk Marketing Undertaking (M.M.U.). The organization of the Company appears to depend entirely on one man who, as secretary and manager, claims to present the milk producers' grievances to the M.M.U. authorities. Numbers of herdsmen regard the Company as able to secure for them more favourable selling conditions than they could obtain as individuals. Being mostly illiterate they feel unable to speak for themselves on such matters and yet are not inclined to support one or other of the Unions. How the producer does in fact benefit from membership of the Company is not in fact clear and some at least of its status in their eyes appears to depend on the personality of the secretary-manager[45].

474 Whatever future developments the farming Unions and
469 Co-operatives may produce it is clear that at present only
829 a small part of the farming population is concerned in either. Of the 5,635 full-time farmers in Malta in 1957 (B/164) only 589, or some 10.5% were members of the eleven producer co-operatives in the Island[46]. Fewer than one

829 474 467 in three of the 7,813 full-time farmers in both Islands at the time were even nominal members of either Union, one of which could claim to represent 25% of the farming population and the other only 6%[43].

829 467 As long as the farmers' Unions continue to represent only a minority of producers and to be divided among themselves there is little likelihood of their being able to benefit those in the industry. But the writer maintains that the grievances of the farmer today are not of the kind in which Union action could effect fundamental improvements because the position of the industry at present and at least in the immediate future depends on a policy of official benevolence. More precisely, this includes the range of financial, material and advisory assistance discussed above.

829 474 The farmer does however stand to make real gains from an efficient and popular co-operative movement. The present limited appeal of the co-operative system is a major drawback. In his interim report on the attitudes of the farming community, Fr. Cirillo observes that "the indifference and open hostility of the majority of farmers towards co-operatives can be partially explained by the fact that they are not able to give farmers the services which are expected of them....they are not in a position to operate as true marketing societies" (B/387, p.18). Fr. Cirillo also points to the mistrust of local co-operative organizers on the part of many farmers who have, moreover, never completely overcome their suspicion of the Government initiative behind the movement.

829 474 442 [426] It is clear that the system of marketing produce is the main weakness at present. Up to now most farmers have marketed their produce through a pitkal. This pitkal is a selling middleman who maintains a stall at one of the pitkalija centres at each of which is a Government-appointed clerk. The pitkal has also served a secondary function as a money lender to farmers who regularly deal with him. Fr. Cirillo observes that "many farmers would not join a co-operative society because of the fear that they might lose their pitkal's friendship" and "the farmer's dependence on the pitkal makes him look at the pitkal with respect" (B/387, pp.17-18). In 1957 it was proposed to centralize the marketing of produce through a single centre for the whole Island (B/253), but at least one of the farmers' Unions was quick to announce its opposition to the plan (B/54 - 11.6.1957, p.4). As on many parallel occasions the farmer was here faced with a choice:- between trusting the Union or 'Il-Gvern'. In most cases he would not venture to make his own decision on the matter.

000 matter. [P 65]

494 While the farmer does not favour the co-operative
442 movement at present he is generally dissatisfied also with
829 the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits
178 being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

208 The Government plan to centralize marketing on the
654 one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the
474 selling of produce on the other will not succeed without
44 a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

464 In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of
184 the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University
178 team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village is the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

464 184 178 lacking any education at all they took up farming as their natural calling" (B/387, p.9), but their sons are faced with a choice both between occupations and ways of life. Their education is enabling them to compete with other sections of society for industrial and other non-agricultural employment while their emancipation, in terms of access to the world outside the village, is leading them to think of escape from the lowly social status of their fathers. They have been brought up to appreciate the insecurity of farming with its inadequate and fluctuating income and have seen the technical limitations and the hard and monotonous schedule of work with which their fathers have had to contend in order to provide even the most frugal living standards for their families. In very many cases the younger generation have been actively discouraged by their elders from contemplating farming as a livelihood. Within society as a whole they see farming as something of a low 'caste' and one example of this is the opposition faced by many a young farmer if he wishes to marry into a non-farming family.

The importance of this revolt on the part of the younger generation is clear when one considers the topic of this Section. The current policy is to change the pattern of farming in the Islands and to raise the standards of living of the farmers by the variety of methods mentioned and these are, quite naturally, being aimed primarily at the present farmers, that is to say the older generation. But the future of farming depends on the future farmers who are, it would appear, leaving or have already left the industry. Many of them do not plan to stay in farming longer than the time necessary to find another occupation and they are consequently not concerned with loans, subsidies, lectures, and the work of the advisory service. The farming which they are anxious to leave will, it is hoped, change rapidly in response to the measure outlined. But, even if only a few years are needed to show substantial results and a better kind of farming is evolved, the younger generations may not be there to take over. Many of them will have emigrated from the Islands altogether and others will have left the villages for all manner of employment in the towns.

654 829 The official aid to farming policy may fail, one fears, on two accounts:

(i) The measures designed to assist the farmer and farming have not yet been as successful as was hoped because of the difficulties of having rapid and far-reaching changes accepted by a suspicious, conservative and largely illiterate body of farmers,

654 829 464 178 (ii) The younger generation are not interested in improving farming; they scarcely stop to think that any changes in the industry might be possible in their present anxiety to find a new job in a different walk of life. Thus they will probably not be available to take over Maltese agriculture, improved or otherwise, from their fathers.

SECTION 5 : Conclusions.

369 In conclusion one may attempt to draw together the several general points raised in the previous four Sections. The most important of these may be listed as follows:

(1) The twentieth century is witnessing an accelerating process of the 'urbanization' of rural Malta and Gozo (Section 1). This comprises

(a) material change (the development of electricity, roads, sewage, transport, and a variety of other amenities),

(b) cultural change following general, elementary education - that is literacy, 'emancipation' and the emergence of a critical public awareness,

[565] (c) social and economic changes which have laid the foundations of a rural middle class, unknown in the traditional village scene.

[793] Along with this have come modifications in the pivotal rôle of the Parish Priest and other priests. Some of their traditional functions, notably teaching and caring for the sick, have been taken over by specialists in such fields.

369 829 The factors outlined under (a), (b), and (c) are tending to extend the horizon of the individual villager far beyond the limits of his own village. Whereas he used to work and think within his family and village he is now aware of Malta and beyond.

241 464 178 (2) The particular physical limitations on farming in the Islands have, in the past, made the industry dependent to a very considerable extent on the meticulous hand-labour of the industrious Maltese farmer. This has been necessary not only in cultivation itself but also in the maintenance, and even construction, of the fields and terraces themselves (Section 2). The present younger generation of the farming community is showing itself unwilling to accept the life and work which conditions such as these involved. They have benefited from general elementary education, literacy, and contact with the world outside the villages to the extent of demanding work which seems to them economically and socially rewarding. The past twenty-five years have seen a rapid decline in the number of full-time farmers and farm-workers. Today the farmer, in most cases no longer assisted by his sons, finds hired labour both scarce and costly (Section 2).

178 241 407 464 (3) On account of those same physical limitations mechanization of field-work cannot be expected to solve all labour problems in Maltese agriculture. An initial, over-optimistic emphasis on large tractors and other heavy machinery has given way to a rapid increase in the number and popularity of the small rotary-cultivators. But even this cannot be expected to displace completely the wooden plow and hand implement working (Section 2).

However, mechanized farm implements, particularly the small, manoeuvrable rotary-cultivator type of hand tractor, have enabled a reduced number of farmers to work their fields more intensively, and, in some cases, to increase the area worked by a single individual.

The neglect of those aspects of farming where manual work is dominant and necessary have, nevertheless, accompanied this change with the bizarre result that intensification of effort and neglect are proceeding simultaneously (B/336).

178 434 (4) A basic factor in the present situation, in which the young farmer is retreating from farming, has been the emergence of a demand for money income (Section 3). The traditional pattern of peasant, subsistence farming in which the main object was the support of the farmer and his family has been replaced by a money-conscious outlook in farming. The farmer now expects his farm to produce a profit with which he can

(a) purchase those items no longer produced on his farm or by his family (clothing, bread etc., etc.),

(b) purchase items which have recently become part of his regular demands and for which money is a sine qua non (property, farm machinery and equipment, clothing, preserved and other imported foods and drinks, recreation, transport, etc.),

433 54 Food, as an item of family expenditure, nowadays figures especially prominantly

(a) where the income derives mainly from milk sold to the M.M.U. and where the land is put, almost exclusively, to fodder,

(b) among part-time farmers (a very rapidly growing element of the farming community in recent years) who concentrate on fodder crops because of the comparatively little labour involved and the generally good market prospects.

178 434 But of greater significance in the long-term view is the fact that these new demands for monetary gain are a particularly prominent feature among the present younger generation of the farming community. For them a substantially increased income is synonomous with social and economic betterment. Since they do not envisage such an increased income coming from farming they are all the more anxious to leave the

industry in search of it.

(5) The Maltese farmer (and, incidentally, also the fishermen) has today a standard of living below the average for the whole country (Section 3). In large part this is related to

(a) the economic and technical difficulties facing his agriculture (Section 2),

(b) his inability, in many cases, to make the change from peasant, subsistence to the money-based, commercial farming of today (v.4).

In fact a considerable section of the full-time farming community is now operating either with very little or no profit or is striving to work in a perpetual, though fluctuating, debt (Section 3).

Yet this comparatively low living standard vis-à-vis the non-farming section of the population is in fact lower than it appears statistically (Section 3) because

(a) the farmer does not enjoy the limited working day (e.g. eight hours) demanded in most other occupations, and also demanded, significantly, by the full-time farm-labourer without fields of his own (Section 2),

(b) the farmer has even today a more modest level of demands (housing, clothing, food, recreation, etc.) than have the bulk of the rest of the population despite the growth in such demands, discussed in Section 3,

(c) many farmers have been living at a rather higher standard, than that to which they were accustomed, since 1945 on the savings they have retained from their profits accumulated during the siege conditions early in the war. These reserves are now, however, dwindling and disappearing.

(6) The farmer is still, in many cases, thinking as a 'peasant' subsistence producer although he is at the same time attempting to operate in a now commercially-orientated agriculture. This emerges in his attitudes to 'officialdom' in the shape of the Department of Agriculture, to co-operatives, to Farmers' Unions, to the agents and middlemen concerned with marketing of produce and the supply of seeds, etc. and to his fellow farmers. He is still very much an individualist in outlook and sceptical of any novel feature not tried and trusted in his experience. He is cautious where outsiders are concerned - notably Government officials, and he is doubtful of the validity, for Malta and Maltese conditions, of the advice of non-Maltese experts on agriculture and related topics. He will, for example, even look for a possible element of treachery in such as the Government's recent plant to improve the packing and grading of produce for export.

On the other hand, however, the farmer is characteristically loud in his assertions that "Government should adopt

829 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (B/387,
167 p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly from the collection of complaints and comments, made by farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387). On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v.Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see for himself any right course of action.

554 (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale.
369 This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition of wealth and education being confined to the cities and
[177] towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his fields remained cut off socially as well as economically.

178 Today this felt inferiority puts him
554

(a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,

(b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v.Section 4).

654 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the
178 Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The industry has, in the past, received such attention only in time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention today is therefore

[135] (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

654 (b) to encourage the members of the farming community to remain in their villages and in the industry.

654 234 (9) Following the official policy, outlined under (8) particularly that relating to dairying in the Islands, and the limited and short-sighted outlook of the average Maltese farmer (v.6), an irrational emphasis on milk production has emerged in recent years (v. Section 4). The dairy industry has grown to unprecedented size in the Islands and many herdsmen have seized eagerly upon the guaranteed price for milk sold to the M.M.U. as a source of a steady income. The fact that the dairy industry as a whole is over-producing and the continuation of the present conditions depend on a virtual Government subsidy does not deter them from concentrating all efforts into milk production to the neglect of other aspects of farming.

654 178 (10) The official policy, outlined in (8) and (9), seems likely to fail or to come near to failure on two main accounts (Section 4):

(a) the difficulties facing current attempts to persuade the farmer to accept new schemes, crops, equipment, methods, etc., and arising from

(i) the outlook and attitudes of the farmer as discussed in (6),

[208] (ii) the use of unsuitable means of propaganda by the Advisory Service and others at present attempting to persuade the farmer to accept new ideas and methods which would bring him cheaper working, a better profit and, thereby, contentment.

(b) the fact that the policy, outlined in (9), is directed, naturally enough, at the present farmers. This generation, however, illiterate and conservative, and with an average age in the late fifties, is, in the long-term view, the wrong one.

The present younger generation in the farming community, whose literacy and awareness of the world beyond the village make them educable and more responsive to new ideas, are the individuals towards whom official effort should be directed if Maltese agriculture is not to be lost by default. Nothing, however, included in official policy (up to December, 1959, is aimed at them (there is nothing resembling a young farmers' club in the Islands and no institute or college where agriculture can be studied).

241 178 The younger generation is in fact, on account of the whole complex of technical, economic and social reason (the strenuous work, the insecurity and the low social status involved) discussed in the four previous Sections, anxious to escape from farming as fast as opportunity to do so emerges.

The problem is clear, and its solution one of action.

654 241 An F.A.O. report on investigations in Malta and Gozo observes that "Progress in agriculture is fundamentally a human problem; it depends on knowledge and the intelligent application of knowledge" (R/243, p.9). Within the Islands themselves there is a certain awareness of the situation and [181] particularly of the need for an official policy designed to develop the agricultural industry to the best advantage of the total economy of the Islands and to assist the farmers who "are perhaps the most hard-working, honest and God-fearing section of the community and the country will be the loser if it were to let them down" (R/387, p.7).

It must be noted that the position in Gozo is even more intractable than in Malta.

From work done in the field two major lines of approach to the problem of Maltese farming emerge:

(a) Development policy must be related to the present and future position of her only basic industry - agriculture - within Malta's total economy. In this context one feels that at present there is some over-emphasis on the parts rather than the whole, that is the individual farmer qua economic unit and on the means whereby he may derive increased profit from his present - generally uneconomic - farm-unit. It is too easy to discuss minutiae of policy which are "good for agriculture", rather than to consider either men in villages or the fundamental national needs.

(b) The long-term improvement of Maltese agriculture as regards both the national economy and the fortunes of the individual farmers depends on the personnel of farming as much as on policy imposed from above. Policies must be tailored to fit the varying capabilities for absorption among the farmers, from the potato-grower who cannot see why a certain variety of potatoes is not selling on the export market to the dairyman unable to comprehend the artificially distorted basis of the industry which provides his livelihood. Moreover, up to now few development plans have been aimed specifically at the future farmers of Malta, the young, literate generation of the farming community. Before they have all left farming and village society this generation must be made aware of the possibilities and potential of agriculture in Malta and Gozo.

468 829 234 FOOTNOTE: While this report was 'in print' it was announced that the milk producers had decided to withhold deliveries to the M.M.U. (R/59, 17th November, 1959, p.4). They argue that the guaranteed price given them should be increased to take into account current production costs - especially of fodder. The fact that they appear to have overlooked the £570,000 paid by the taxpayer in subsidising the milk industry (1958) illuminates both the narrow outlook of the farmer and his failure to appreciate the uneconomic basis of his dairying industry today (v.9).

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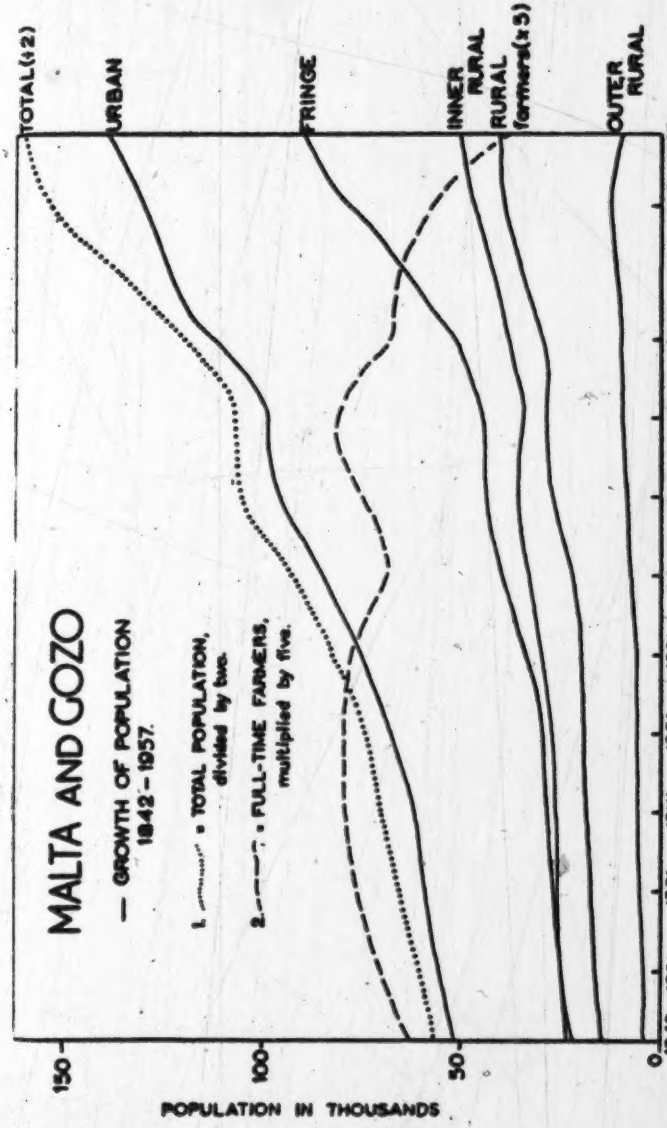

Following p. 72

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

SECTION 6: CASE STUDIES

*159 128 This section is divided into three parts:

PART 1. Thirteen Case Studies of representative farmers and herdsmen in Malta and Gozo. In each Case a general discussion emphasizes important particular features against the total background of farming in the Islands. Each Study concludes with a Summary[47] of the farmer and his farming classified under the following headings: A - Land; B - Utilisation; C - Livestock; D - Capital; E - Labour; F - Production and Sales; G - Husbandry; H - General. The adoption of a standard system facilitates comparisons of any one Study with all the others.

[104

The examples chosen include[48]

CASE I (Pawlu): A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.

CASE II (Ċuċepp): A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping.

CASE III (Wardu): A goats' milk producer.

CASE IV (Wistin): A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.

CASE V (Anġlu): A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.

CASE VI (Gastu): A milk producer with a considbrable land-holding.

CASE VII (Wenzu): A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land-holding.

CASE VIII (Niklaws): A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.

CASE IX (Antnin and Ġakbu): A long-established partnership of two unrelated farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.

CASE X (Ġamri): An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.

CASE XI (Pietru): An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.

CASE XII (Ċenzu): A cows' milk producer and part-time village weighman.

CASE XIII (Toni): A part-time arable farmer and caretaker.

CASE I (herdsman) and CASE X (arable farmer) are given more detailed consideration as examples of the two main branches of agriculture.

PART 2. Cases XIV to XXII comprise studies of farmers and others who operate large tractors and other heavy agricultural machinery. These illustrate the discussion, in Section 2, of the place of such heavy mechanization in Maltese farming. An exhaustive study was made of CASE XIV to which particular attention is drawn as it emphasises a number of points made in the general text of the report - especially those concerning the place of the younger generation of farmers today.

128 [226] PART 3. A note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo is included because the economic position of this comparatively small group is in many ways similar to that of the farming community itself.

*159 234 654 PART 1. Maltese Farming - Case Studies I-XIII

CASE I: Pawlu. (A Gozitan large-scale goats' milk producer with a considerable land-holding.)

Pawlu gives the impression of being one of the more prosperous of herdsmen in his native Gozo. He is currently concentrating his effort on his 46 goats and 2 cows and is typical of the many herdsmen in the Islands who are today profiting from the official M.M.U. policy of a guaranteed [435] sale for milk produced. He receives between 5/- and 6/- per gallon, according to season, provided only that the milk passes certain fat-content and other tests.

This is the background to Pawlu's present specialization on milk at the expense of vegetable and fodder production for sale, a specialization which enables him to run his farm as an apparently profitable concern. The vulnerability of his position is however evident. A drastic change in the official policy of 'subsidy by guarantee' would snatch away the basis of his income as it would that of the many herdsmen like him.

*159 55 423 [463] Pawlu's father was primarily a tailor, working a few fields in a part-time capacity. His grandfather had been a quarryman. In 1935, when he was thirty-two, Pawlu married the daughter of a farmer in his village. From that date onward he began to build up his own farm-holding - he had previously worked as a hired farm labourer. At his marriage he was given the tenancy of some land both by his own family and by that of his wife, land to which he added in later years plots taken over from other tenants together with some further land from his family. Some of the plots which Pawlu acquired he later abandoned, sold, sub-let or exchanged on account of small size, inaccessibility, distance, etc., and he also declined to take over the working of 16 tmien (which would have come from his wife's family on marriage) on account of the distance of the fields from the home. A statement of the holding illustrates some characteristic features of the Maltese farm - its parcellation, the small amount owned rather than leased or held on rental, the variety of owners concerned in the case of most of the plots, the types of sources from which the fields were acquired, reasons for the relinquishing of certain pieces and the scattered nature of the holding of twenty-six separate plots spread over a quarter of the Island of Gozo (R/325).

Pawlu's holding at Easter, 1958.

*159 423

Origin of TENURE	1958 T S K[49]	No longer held in 1959 T S K[49]
From own family on his marriage in 1935...	5-5-5	4-3-8
From own family since his marriage	7-4-5	
From his bride's family at marriage	5-0	16-0-0
From non-relatives, all since 1955	28-0-3	
	42-3-3	20-3-8

OWNERSHIP of land held by Pawlu.		Plots		Plots
Church (Cathedral (Mdina).....	3-4-0	5	16-0-0	var
Church (Gharb.....	1-0-3	4		
Church (Benefizzju (agent).....	4-3-0	2		
Civil Government.....	3-5-0	2		
Other farmers.....	4-0-0	2		
Sinjur (a Xewkija Baron).....	5-0	1	1-1-8	2
Owned by Pawlu himself.....	4-0	1	1-0-0	1
Sub-leased (4-yearly) from 8 farmers who hold on long lease, or own.....	24-0-0	var.adj.		
Military authorities.....	0		0	
No information.....			3-0	1
Notary (agent).....			1-5-0	2
	42-3-3		20-3-8	

The details of the 20-3-8 relinquished by Pawlu are significant:

Sub-let because of small-size and inaccessibility.....	7-0
Sold because of inaccessibility.....	1-0-0
Abandoned because of distance & inaccessibility.....	1-0-0
Option declined because of distance.....	16-0-0
Exchanged.....	1-2-8
	20-3-8

*159 423 427

On sixteen of his twenty-six plots of land Pawlu pays annually about £24 in rent. On average this works out at about 4 shillings per tomna for rough grazing land and £1.1.6d per tomna of cultivable dry (baghli) land. Pawlu himself receives an income of 5s 6½d per annum as rent for two small patches (totalling slightly more than a tomna) which he sub-lets. He himself owns the pivotal centre of his farm, and four sighan on which stands his house, cattle byre, coat shed, store rooms and small enclosures.

*159 234 311 [246]

Pawlu's present policy is to expand fodder production in order to eliminate much of the very high cost of purchased fodder. Along with this he is keen to acquire the use of rough grazing land for his goats where he can do so cheaply. The large block of this type of rough grazing which Pawlu acquired piece-meal during 1957 and 1958 makes the supervision of the animals easier than would be the case if he had to graze them in small fields adjacent to land carrying standing crops. [244] Pawlu is cutting down the quantity of vegetables produced for sale each year since he is without any guaranteed market or price. He aims nevertheless to produce as much of the family requirements as possible.

159 The trend is clear from an analysis of the utilisation of 311 his land holding:-

	1956			1957			1958		
	T	S	K[49]	T	S	K	T	S	K
House and adjacent roadway		2	0		2	0		2	0
Vines		3	0		3	0		3	0
Prickly Pear		3	0		3	0		3	0
Potatoes	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Vegetables, other than potat.(a)	6	4	0	4	3	0		4	0
Fodder(b)	8	2	3	10	3	3	14	2	3
Rough grazing - and shooting			0	12	0	0	24	0	0
Unused		1	0		1	0		1	0
	18	3	3	30	3	3	42	3	3

(a) mainly tomatoes and melons (bittieh and dulieh)
(b) silla, wheat (qamh), barley (xghir), mixed wheat and barley (mahlut), beans.

159 Livestock
422 Pawlu's farm holding of slightly less than twelve
231 acres is large by Gozitan standards. So also is the herd which it supports. Late in 1957 he had some 40 goats and 8 kids, two cows, a sheep, one horse, and about 100 poultry. "Goats are easier to handle than are cows" (Pawlu). For him, as for most herdsmen in the Islands, the dairy cow is still something of a novelty, and an expensive one, requiring considerable capital outlay for both the animal and its accommodation. The single sheep is quite typical, being kept mainly for the popular 'rikotta' cheese made from its milk. The large poultry element is also becoming a common feature in Gozo, though disease takes a very high toll. Pawlu's one horse provides the motive power for the cart which for him as for the rest of Gozo is still the prime mover of goods and produce.

159 Pawlu's income derives mainly from the sale of milk to
234 the M.M.U. This was also the case before 1958 when Gozo
434 finally became a 'closed' area in which unpasteurized milk could not, legally, be sold. Thus the herdsman's cry of "Halib, halib" ('Milk, milk') as he took his goats from door to door and milked them to order on the customer's threshold is heard no more. The churned milk from the farms is collected and taken to the factory at Xewkija - before 1958 it had had to make the long journey to the Hamrun centre. Apart from the unpasteurised fresh milk used by the family, Pawlu sells, and sold, the milk his goats produce to the M.M.U. He pays no labour, hired or family, and does not consider his own time as a cost factor. Some idea of his income is therefore obtainable from an account of his receipts from the M.M.U. against the costs of the fodder.

423 The amount of fodder bought in to supplement home
234 production varies. In the case of sulla (silla), particu-
159 larly, Pawlu is forced to buy in a large quantity when his own crop is poor. His purchases of wheat (qamh) and

159 barley (xghir) fluctuate but cake-feed is all bought from
432 fodder agents. Milk production varies with season, being
234 at its peak in the Spring. The price given by the M.M.U. changes accordingly to the extent of a few pence per gallon. On the basis of an average feed programme one can get some idea of the gross profit margin on which Pawlu is working, the absence of any allowance for labour costs being noted.

*159 A sample feed programme with daily costs for one cow
234 yielding about three gallons:
43

	s	d
3 rtal xghir (barley-bran)	1	4
8 rtal cake.....	3	6
5 rtal sulla (silla).....	1	4
8 rtal beans (¼ tomna)....	5	0
1 basket prickly pear.....	1	0
½ basket straw.....		6
	12	8d

Selling the three gallons at 5s 6d per gallon (see above) brings in 16s 6d per day, leaving a profit on the one cow of 3s 10d.

A sample feed programme with daily costs for 46 goats yielding about ten gallons per day:

	£	s	d
3 tmien (48 rtal) beans....	1	10	0
1 tomna xghir (barley).....		6	0
4 bundles sulla (silla)....		5	0
Furrajna (green barley)....		5	0
	2	6	0

Selling ten gallons per day at some 6s per gallon thereby brings Pawlu a further profit of 60s minus 46s, or 16 shillings. This, together with the 3s 10d from each of his two cows, amounts to a net income of approximately 23/8d per day.

*159 Unlike most of his fellow herdsmen in both Islands,
156 Pawlu is fully aware of the relation between feed programmes
234 for livestock and milk yields (B/379). He does not share
232 the common view that "The more the feed the more the milk". He is also well aware of the economics of his situation as described above and, as seen, his aim is to cut the costs of fodder by producing more on his own holding and thereby increase his profit margin on milk sold. This is a most widespread feature among Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen today. But Pawlu goes further than most in that he is conscious of the need for a 'balanced diet'. Not only does he carefully regulate the types and quantities of feed which he gives but he also follows the latest researches of the Department of Agriculture, especially that of Haesler (B/252) and others working on this and similar topics. The average illiterate Maltese farmer tends to dismiss the statements and efforts of such experts as "No good for Malta, and

*159 156 234 232 useless in my district" but Pawlu, who has at all times in his life been conscious of education and a knowledge of things outside his village, is prepared to consider suggestions on their merits. This attitude pervades the working of his farm as a unit and has had important repercussions within his family. (v. Section 4).

*159 156 829 In spite of his own lack of advanced formal education, Pawlu has in fact an awareness of its importance which is still uncommon in rural Gozo. He is constantly stressing the need for education in its widest sense, both general and technical. He is anxious for his children to be educated to a standard far above his own, while, in the wider scene, he recognizes the importance of education for the farmer and farming. His attitude to the course of lectures for farmers (Section 4) is typical of the man. He observed that "attendances at the lectures have been big because the farmers are interested - they wouldn't go if they were not". The ideas put forward by the experts are weighed by the farmer and, if considered 'good ideas', are discussed at length in the villages or at the It-Tokk market on Sunday mornings. These lecture courses for farmers, and others like them such as the important McClemont demonstrations and lectures on dairying technique (Section 4), fail for Pawlu in so far as they do not lead to individual contact between specialist and farmer. No farmer would dream of making comment or criticising 'officialdom' - with which he naturally associates ventures like those of Haesler and McClemont[50]. "The Maltese back down much more easily than do the English in their relations with the authorities. In England you might complain to a Government Department and there would be argument for a day but in Malta such a complaint would mean petty victimization for years". The farmer blames "clerical inefficiency" in Valletta for what he considers has been the failure to follow up the McClemont or other recommendations but no farmer would seriously consider complaining in person to officialdom. They just argue and become increasingly bitter with their lot.

* 159 178 829 [554] [464] Farming for Pawlu means independence. He complains of the inferior social position which the farmer holds in Maltese society today and observes that the present generation of young people demand the means to enable them to equal the people of the towns in appearance, leisure and other superficialities. The old farmer with little formal education is not troubled by these notions. His life is the only one he can comprehend - apart from which his daily round leaves him little time to think. The youngster, on the other hand, is desperate for an eight-hour job with steady income and leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

leisure time in place of unpaid field work with his parents.

Pawlu admits nevertheless that much of the inferior condition of the farmer derives from his inability to unite with other farmers (Section 4). Illiteracy, ignorance and suspicion are the major causes of his fear. Only a few farmers are members of either of the two opposing Unions of Farmers while the situation regarding co-operatives is equally unpromising. Pawlu himself became one of the organizers of a special 'Tractor Co-Operative', initiated by C.A.R.E. at the end of 1958 (Section 2) for a group of farmers in his home village. The members paid £2 each on joining the co-operative and were thereafter able to hire one of the two tractors donated by C.A.R.E. at only 10/- per hour instead of the commercial 17s. The fact that Pawlu himself was among the organizers of such a novel venture reflects his progressive outlook, and his standing in the village.

*159 156 829 Politics interest Pawlu, to a more than average degree His concern is based on an informed intelligence. A supporter of the Labour Party, he considers the Nationalists as holding the masses in contempt and he points to their emphasis on the Italian language and the non-Maltese culture which it represented as evidence. He reads the local Maltese-language press but is sufficiently independent of mind to have cancelled his subscription to the 'Lehen is-Sewwa' (B/65) at the time of the 'Integration' referendum on the grounds that neither the Church nor the Paper would publish an 'official' statement on the attitude of the Church. Yet his religious devotion is without question and he has a respected place in Church and village life.

*159 156 829 593 555 167 The Family. Pawlu lives with his wife and six of his children. His eldest son and daughter are both working as teachers in Malta. Another daughter has emigrated.

Pawlu's wife speaks only Maltese and had as little formal education as her husband, but she has at all times nothing but encouragement for her family in their education In this case there is not the usual gulf in outlook between parents and children on account of the education of the latter - for the parents fully realize the need. Pawlu's wife used to work in the fields when young but now spends her time in the house. Certain jobs remain her special concern however, notably cheese-making, care of lambs and chicks and egg-collection. 162

*159 156 178 593 875 The eldest son, now working as a teacher, is one of the young 'intellectuals' who are currently making an appearance in Gozo. The ties of family and respect between him and his father are strong but he is out of touch with the

*159 156 178 593 farm and ignorant of many details of its history and operation. He is "never likely to soil his hands with farming". He is moving away from farming and from the cultural and social life of his village. He apologises for the efforts of the villagers when they attempt to produce a play, he dismisses nick-names as "old-fashioned", and he decries the limitations on activity in his native Island (no dancing or bright lights). Yet he is still enough attached to Gozo to want to introduce changes to it and to make it more like the place his education has made him want to live in. He is typical of one important and growing element in the younger generation of rural Malta and Gozo. In his teens he used to help his father in the fields and took milk to the collection depot, but this stopped as soon as he found a full-time alternative occupation.

*159 156 593 46 Pawlu's eldest daughter, also a teacher, has left farm-work far behind. For her this was never more than casual assistance with vegetable picking and lifting during holidays from school. It is not likely that she will be a farmer's wife.

87 Pawlu's second daughter left school at twelve and divided her time between house and field work until her marriage in her late teens. She was acknowledged as her father's main assistant with the animals.

Two daughters in their middle teens are academically inclined to the extent of staying at school as long as possible and speaking four languages. Both still do incidental farm work when not occupied with studies. Both would be probable 'sixth-form' and university candidates were there any liklihood of financial backing. Their education, especially in English language and culture, is giving them - and many others like them - an advancement which is not matched by opportunity. They are learning in an educational cul-de-sac.

A son in his middle teens works full-time in the fields with his father, having left school at twelve, while two more boys are still of compulsory school age and give their father only casual assistance with feeding the smaller animals out of school hours. A little girl of some ten years makes no economic contribution to the farm.

*159 46 The major feature to emerge from the above consideration is that the bulk of the work of the farm, and the full-time responsibility for all jobs, rests with Pawlu alone. The son who is old enough to deputise for his father has left farming: the only full-time help comes from a younger boy who may himself decide to follow his brother in a few years. Now Pawlu complains that "labour is the main trouble if the farmer cannot cope with all the

*159 46 work of the farm and animals himself", and he can only cope with his own farm and animals if he follows a heavy and rigidly organized schedule of work. Hired labour is not a proposition, Pawlu avers, at £1 for an eight-hour day and this has apparently contributed to the emphasis which he has put on fodder and milk production in recent years. [433] High costs of hired labour for field-work together with the poor and unguaranteed returns for crop produce make field work on dry (baghli) land a poor prospect. Irrigable land presents a different picture but there is none available in Pawlu's district.

*159 512 Pawlu's timetable (in effect he runs the farm single-handed) centres on the animals. During the summer months the pressure is slightly less because the weather is easier, field-work is less pressing and he has the casual help of the younger children in school vacations. Daily time of rising for Pawlu depends on where and when the milk has to be taken for collection. At one stage, in 1957, he had to be up soon after midnight but, until the new milk factory was opened at Xewkija in 1958, a more usual reveille was at 2 or 3 a.m.

[264] [262] Breakfast, of coffee and bread, is taken when the family gets up or when they return from the Church nearby. Pawlu often has to take meals when he can fit them in between his jobs so that it is somewhat exceptional to find the whole family sitting together for food. The morning milking takes him some two hours after which the animals need feeding and attention before he can go to the fields. About six times a month his morning takes him to Rabat on shopping or business errands.

[264] [262] Lunch, the main meal of the day, consists every day of either minestra (thick soup) or farinaceous paste of some kind, together with bread, cheese, oil (żejt) and home-made tomato 'kunserva'. Lunch is usually over by noon when milking and the preparation of the afternoon feed begins.

[264] The evening meal is normally similar to the lunch in content but less in amount. It is often taken immediately before retirement for the night which is early in the village. The farmer reckons to be in from the fields by sun-down but, when the evenings are longer, most of the village is quiet soon after 6 p.m. except where some conversation lingers in a paraffin-lit shop.

*159 512 794 Sundays and feasts days are breaks from the normal routine, but Church-going is not confined to these days and in fact accounts for some two half-hour visits every day with extra attendances at the weekend. In this very rural community the 'social' aspect of church-going retains most of its traditional importance. In the absence of

*159 512 1794 cafes, clubs, etc., it remains the centre of village affairs and the focus of activity, secular as well as religious.

Pawlu is one of the farmers of this village, but his 592 children are not likely to be farmers. Therefore can they 178 remain of the village? As yet it has patently little to *159 offer their education and culture and no apparent opportunity for a livelihood at their new and higher standards. They are leaving farming and are leaving the village as well in search of the means of earning a living - other than in farming.

SUMMARY of CASE I

*159 423 427 (311) (A large scale Gozitan goats' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

A. Land.

- Area held in 1956: 18⅝ tmien, 1957: 30½ tmien, 1958: 42½ tmien, the additions being almost entirely in the form of grazing land. The present holding is in 26 plots, rented from several landlords including Church, Civil Government and private individuals. Owns one small plot and sublets several others from neighbouring farmers. Plots scattered over considerable area in Gharb and St. Lawrenz districts. Rent totals £23.14.0 p.n., ranging from 21/6 per tomna for cultivable (dry) land to 4/- per tomna for rough grazing.
- Previously held a further 20 tmien, 3 of which have been sub-let or exchanged and 17 abandoned owing to inaccessibility.

*159 423 311 B. Utilisation.

	1956	1957	1958
House	⅛	⅛	⅛
Vines	¼	¼	¼
Prickly pear	⅛	⅛	⅛
Fodders	8½	10½	14½
Vegetables	8⅝	6½	2⅝
Rough Grazing	-	12	24
Unused	⅛	⅛	⅛
Total	18⅝	30½	42½ tmien

*159 23 C. Livestock. (Nov. 1957)

38 goats, 8 kids
2 cows
1 sheep
100 poultry
1 horse

*159 411 (427) (456) D. Capital.

- Land all rented save one small plot.
- Appears to be amassing capital from profits on milk production.
- No specialised equipment.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- No permanent hired help.
- One son works full time on the farm, help from other children.

*159 433 (434) F. Production and Sales.

- Milk is the main item of income to which occasional small sales of vegetables are the only addition.
- Sample daily feed for 1 cow yielding c.3 gallons

*159 433

3 rotal	barley bran	1s. 4d.
8 "	cake	3s. 6d.
5 "	sulla	1s. 4d.
8 "	beans	5s. 0d.
1 basket	prickly pear	1s. 0d.
½ "	straw	6d
		12s. 8d.

- Sample daily feed for 46 goats yielding c.10 galls.

48 rotal	bean	£1. 10s. 0d.
16 "	barley	6s. 0d.
4 bundles	sulla	5s. 0d.
Furrajna (green	barley)	5s. 0d.
		£2. 6s. 0d.

[434] - Daily feed costs thus average £2.18.8 and the income from milk £3.16.6. Profit, making no allowance for labour costs is 17/10d. daily, varying slightly with milk prices.

*159 234 c. Husbandry.

(i) - Does not subscribe to the common view that "the more the feed the more the milk".
- Attempting to increase profit margin by cutting fodder costs, which he does in three ways:-
(a) By extending the area held under fodder crops. The cost of fodder makes this worthwhile even though it involves larger purchases of food for the family.
(b) By acquiring grazing land, a useful supplement to fodder crops.
(c) By improving feeding patterns to give a more balanced diet.

*159 241 (ii) - Land lies idle in the summer months since none is irrigated.
- Two rotations are in use,
(a) 1st yr: Wheat after manuring and thorough hoeing.
2nd yr: Sulla
3rd yr: Wheat
4th yr: Fallow
(b) 1st yr: Wheat
2nd yr: Sulla and Beans
3rd yr: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Melons after tractor plowing.
4th yr: Fallow

*159 43 829 H. General.

- Completely dependent on the sale of milk to the M.M.U. at current prices of 5/6 to 6/- per gallon.
- Commercially much more sophisticated than the majority of Gozitan milk producers, this farmer runs a profitable concern.
- Has shown himself willing to cut losses by relinquishing land which he cannot work profitably.
[454] - At the same time makes considerable effort to add suitable land to his holding.
- Atypical in avoiding dispersion of effort over a variety of minor activity and in high degree of specialisation. This specialisation, however, renders him particularly vulnerable to any change in policy on the maintenance of milk prices.

*159 234 CASE II: Ġużepp (A goats' milk producer with subsidiary cash cropping.)

Like Pawlu (Case I) Ġużepp is a herdsman. He has however fewer goats (25) and no cows as "there is no place to keep them". Accommodation is in fact one of the major problems facing him and thwarts his efforts to increase his herd and thereby his earning power. Late in 1957 some of his

*159 234 premises were deemed by the sanitary authorities to be unfit for animals. He has no goat pens near his house but is prevented by the lack of capital from making substantial improvements in his facilities. Owing to shortage of space, he prefers to buy in fully-grown animals rather than to breed his own, which would be cheaper. Fodder storage [246] (he produces just enough sulla to feed his own goats) is a further problem and he tries to 'make do' with odd corners of often unsuitable space.

*159 241 433 Crop production is geared to the provision of fodder for the goats, together with the supply of vegetables for the family, and grapes (for wine), some tomatoes and other items for casual sale to local shops.

*159 434 The income side of his budget depends on the proceeds from the milk sold to the M.M.U. In August, 1957, he was getting about 16/9d a day for the milk sold. His grapes for 1957 brought him a further £66. His largest expense is fodder (apart from sulla) and its price is a constant [427] cause of grumbling and bitterness by Guiepp. Rents for 1957 totalled £35, that is about £1 per tomna for good land (generally red soiled 'hamrija') and 15/- for poorer, whiter ('abjad') soils. His cropping illustrates a common [241] practice in Maltese farming in that he tends to plant more [435] of a crop which has just had a 'good' season and thereby frequently suffers from glut conditions. Thus in 1958 he aimed to plant a large area to marrow (gargha baghli) because "last year's crop was good". In the previous year he had been unable to get all the potato seed he would have liked but, at the end of the season, was able to buy in potatoes very cheaply for the table because of the general glut in the crop which he had, as it transpired, fortunately avoided.

*159 438 438 443 Guiepp, like most farmers, is very critical of the great gulf between the price given by the pitkal and that paid by the consumer. In a small way he strives to avoid this by selling some of his produce directly in the local village, but this brings him only some £12 per annum.

X 159 511 829 178 Expenses are few apart from food, clothing and a few extra items such as Church contributions. His bill for entertainment is practically nil and his children are not yet old enough to demand large sums of pocket money - which one foresees they will do. Guiepp is very anxious to enlarge his farm and his herd and to improve his accommodation. In this development one feels he is looking to the future support of his now school-age sons. Certainly the older of these seem at present to look forward to following in their father's footsteps. But it is clear also that Guiepp's own deep attachment to the land and to farming is

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is diffi-
241 cult to visualise their reconciling the limitations and
178 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
362 the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
[427] £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer. Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
54 called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
461 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can him-
464 self operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
654 animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive

[P 86]

*159 fluctuation. In such a situation he would find fixed 443 annual repayments on loans for development much more difficult to meet.

SUMMARY OF CASE II

*159 (A goats milk producer with subsidiary cash-cropping).

A. Land.

[423] [427] Rents 10 separate plots, all dry land, in the Qawra Region.
Several landlords; total rent including house (£8.10.0) £35 p.a.

B. Utilisation.

[241] [311]
- Attention devoted mainly to fodders: wheat, barley, sulla.
- Grapes, some tomatoes and a few potatoes for sale.
- Various vegetables for home consumption.
- Grazing on waste and abandoned land.

C. Livestock.

[231]
- About 25 goats: 2 rams and 23 milkers all over 2 yrs. old.
- 20 hens, 5 pigs, 1 mule.

D. Capital.

[423] [454] [412] [407] [426] [427]
(i) No freehold land.
(ii) Little or no liquid reserve.
(iii) Equipment: usual hand implements; no mechanical equipment until 1957 when he bought a rotary cultivator at £350 with a government loan to be repaid at £62 p.a.
- Hires tractor and plow at 15 to 25/- per tomna.
- Borrows spray from brother.

E. Labour. (v. Table 4: Analysis of Work Record, 1957-58)

[464]
- No permanent hired labour.
- Help from wife and children (8 children, all below 14 yrs. of age, 4 at school).
- Employs a vine-grafter at 25/- a day when necessary (150 vines can be grafted in one day).
- Pays friends and relatives £1 daily for help at grape harvest.

F. Production and Sales.

[234] [43] [231]
(i) 22 goats (Nov. 1957) yield 3 gallons of milk daily which sells at 16/9 (3/7 per gall.).
- Keeps only milkers as no accommodation for rearing.
- Female kids sold for breeding fetch 7/- each, male kids sold to butchers when 15 days old fetch same price.
- Buys 3 to 5 goats annually to maintain herd - price in 1957 £10 each.
- 5 pigs includes 3 for meat, 2 for breeding; piglets weaned after 40 days and sold a week later.

[245] [434] [244]
(ii) Vine shoots bought from Govt. Farm at 28/- per 100. Grapes sold to vintners. Price takes no account of quality.
- In 1957 sold 30 qantar at 44/- per qantar = £66.
- Tomatoes, small quantities sold, but bulk of crop made into paste for home use.

G. Husbandry.

[245] (i)
- Much effort expended on vines. Pruned in January, when 2 yr. old shorts cut back.
- Grafting in February; new grafts produce small crop the same year.
- Sprayed, plowed (3 or 4 times) in May.

*159 [245] - Many stocks now 20 years old require replacement.
- No early potatoes grown "because of sea-spray".
- Sulla sufficient for his own stock.

[233] [461] (ii) - Half of every working day is devoted to grazing the goats on waste and abandoned land.
- Fodder from his own sulla and barley but has to buy oats and beans, prices varying between £2 and £3 per qantar - expensive.

[241] (iii) - Manure from his own stock provides all his requirements and leaves surplus for sale.
- Uses 6 bags of sulphate of ammonia p.a., the only chemical fertiliser.

[231] - Pig feed costs 11/- per sack which lasts his 5 pigs 4 days.

*159 [829] [24] H. General.
- Has a hopeful attitude towards farming but still expects a great deal of Government help in the form of grants, loans and subsidies.
- Claims that his children intend to succeed him on the land but they are young enough to change their minds.
- Willing to accept advice, but not impressed by experts who tell him either "things he knows already" or give him advice "which is sound but not applicable to Maltese conditions".
- Has only a very general idea of costs and returns. Takes no account of value of family labour.

*159 [434] [234] - Basic income is from sale of milk (£300 in 1957) and grapes (£66) plus small quantities of vegetables (c.£12). Spends £100 p.a. on food for family in addition to his own produce.

[511] [454] [24] - Typical of farmer who is satisfied with his lot, keeps his family decently fed and clothed but spends little or nothing on non-essentials. He is anxious to improve his herd, accommodation and methods but his farm provides no financial surplus with which to do this.

[511] - Continues to accept a standard of living far below that of his more sophisticated compatriots.

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TABLE 4. CASE II. Analysis of Work Record. 1957-58[a]

ACTIVITY	Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Sundays and feasts[b]	6		5		4		5		6		6		5		6		5	1	6		6		4		64	1
"Business", miscellaneous	1				1		2				1		2		1				1				1		10	-
Grazing Goats.[c]		29		28		30		29		30		30		25		20		28		30		29		28	-	336
Collecting money from N.M.U.	1		1		2		2				2		1		1		1		2		2		2		17	-
Goats' sheds - cleaning			1		3		2	1	4		2	1	2		1										15	2
" " - building, repairing	3						9		1																13	-
Pigs, illness and slaughtering			1		1								1										1	1	4	1
Potatoes (Sowing			1								5														6	-
Potatoes (Weeding, hoeing															2		3								5	-
Potatoes (Lifting									6												2				8	-
Vines Pruning											12		3												15	-
Vines Grafting											1		4		2										7	-
Vines Hoeing, plowing, spraying					1	1							1	1	6	1	3		9	1	1				21	4
Tomatoes Picking			6		2																				8	-
Tomatoes Planting out, hoeing															1				2				1		4	-
Wheat Picking	1		8		4		1																2		16	-
Wheat Sowing							1		10																11	-
Wheat Reaping																					11				11	-
Barley Sowing							3																		3	-
Barley Reaping																			5						5	-
Sulla Sowing	2																						1		3	-
Sulla Reaping	1												1		6		6						2		16	-
Sulla Binding(d)																	5						5		10	-
Marrows, Melons, Pumpkins,													1				1		5		2		2		11	-
Onions and garlic					1				1																3	-
Beans, carob and Prickly Pear(e)	5		1		1						2				1		3								13	-
Gathering greenery (haxix)													1	1	1	2									2	3
Plowing (unspecified): Motor -		2	1		5		2		1				4			1	2								15	3
" " : Wood Plow. and hoeing			1		2										3	7			1						7	7
Threshing wheat & barley - (f)																					5		3		8	-

continued

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Table 4 continued.

ACTIVITY	Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec		Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Year	
	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm	am	pm
Manure spreading (g)	5		2						1												5		3		1[illegible]	-
Repairing field storm damage					4		3						1												8	-
Other and unspecified (h)	6		2	2					1	1			1	1			1	1			1	1	2	2	14	8
TOTAL	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(a) From work record kept by farmer's wife. (Translated by the writer): originals in E/5).
(b) No work in the mornings - goats grazed as usual in afternoon.
(c) Occasionally the children relieve Gulepp of supervising the goats' grazing.
(d) Including transport and storage.
(e) Hoeing and cutting.
(f) Including preparations for threshing.
(g) Including moving, spreading, turning and selling.
(h) Including 6 mornings when Gulepp washed clothes (wife's confinement), and others when weather was too bad for work.

CASE III : Nardu (A goats' milk producer)

*159 157 Illiterate and suspicious, Nardu typifies the most conservative element in Maltese farming for whom nothing new can be worthy of consideration. It is probable that no amount of lecturing, demonstrations of improved methods, or capital loans from the Government, would persuade him to change the ways he knows. The prospect of machinery does not impress him although he thinks of acquiring a rotary cultivator (at about £245). His observation is, when freely translated, "You can't teach an old dog new tricks" (he is aged 40).

*159 234 [425] His father was a peasant with a few fields. Nardu's brother took over the family business and sold his share of the fields to Nardu, who also bought out the shares of his five sisters. He has since concentrated all his effort on his herd of goats, regarding his fields primarily as a source of fodder. During the fifteen months of study his herd varied in size from 34 to 50 animals. All the goats are of the local breed as he does "not like horned goats". He is more concerned with producing milk, under the current favourable regime of guaranteed sales to the M.M.U., than with breeding goats. Most of the kids born to his herd are sold for meat or for breeding to a dealer. Payment [426] seems to be made as money becomes available from the M.M.U every two weeks. Often however he admits to being up to two months behind with payment, settling one debt "when the next transaction is afoot".

In 1958, Nardu was talking at length about "getting two or three cows or calves". He "knows about cows from friends" but has not himself got the £300 capital necessary for two. Moreover he observes that "you can't graze cows" and their general upkeep is likely to clash with that of goats, especially where one man is working alone as in this case. There seems to be an element of prestige attached to the ownership of cows in a village such as Nardu's where the vast majority of herdsmen have only goats. Certainly his thinking is not guided by comparative costings of milk production from the cow and goat.

*159 434 [443] [511] Nardu's fields produce fodder and some food for the family so that they "will not have to buy in everything from the shops". He reckons to save between 15/- and £1 per week in this way. His wife spends £3 a week on purchased food and she looks back nostalgically to her youth when her mother spent some 30/- per week on food and clothing for a family with twelve children, while she has only three. The steady item of income in Nardu's budget is the money received from the M.M.U. for the goats' milk sold. Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu

* 159 443 484 521 Shopping is done in the local village but Nardu makes the journey to Valletta for the 'Fuq il-Monti' Sunday market occasionally, though with the intention of gossipping rather than making purchases.

CASE III : Summary

(A goats' milk producer.)

* 159 423 **A. Land.**

30 Tmien in Naxxar-Gharghur Hills area.
14 Field plots in two main groups;
All on soils of tad-Dmil and l-Iklin Complexes.
Of this - 5½ tmien freehold,
- 24½ tmien leased from 6 landlords.
Rents range between 10/- and £1 per tomna.

* 159 241 311 **B. Utilisation.**

Almost entirely fodder production e.g. February 195
3 plots under widna.
1 plot under barley - pulled green.
3 half plots under wheat.
2 half plots under sulla.
1 plot used for goat grazing - fallow.
1 plot under fofifa. (bitter vetch).
1 enclosure under prickly pear.
3 plots under vetches.
Remainder subdivided and carrying potatoes, broad beans and a few vegetables. [434]
Only regular cash crop - winter potatoes.

* 159 231 **C. Livestock.**

During 1957/1958 goat numbers ranged from 35 to 50 and milkers from 27 to 40.
5 sheep kept for wool and sheeps milk for cheese-making.
1 mule - imported from Tunis.

* 159 **D. Capital.**

[423] - Land held in freehold valued at £400 in early 50's.
[454] - Freehold village house.
[412] - According to his own statement liquid reserves of £200.
[407] - Equipment - hand tools, local wooden plows, etc. No machinery but plans to buy rotary cultivator.

* 159 464 **E. Labour.**

- Wife spends c.30% of her time on the land, although childrens ages range from 3-8.
- Communal help for threshing.
- Hires labour for barley and sulla cutting. During 1957 c.18 man days at cost of c.£15. [427]
- Every 4th year deep plowing (by contract) of about half the fields. Cost £1 to 15/- a tomna.
- Each year has some land tilled by rotary cultivator. Cost 12/- a tomna.

* 159 433 **F. Production and Sales.**

- Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.45 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day.
- Winter potatoes as cash crop vary considerably in yield and in selling price.
- Occasional sales of small quantities wheat and wool
- Produce consumed by family valued at c.£1 per week.

* 159 241 **G. Husbandry.**

(i) Land - All dung used on fields - usually before potato setting.
- 7-8 bags of sulphate of ammonia applied annual
- The concentration on leguminous fodders prev[ents] the employment of the normal four-year rotat[ion]

*159 241 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments.
Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land)

*159 234 471 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 46 250 The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

433 434 *159 46 241 465

available", and normally delegates most of the work to a labourer who receives 24/- for an occasional day's work.

His own fields produce only a small part of the fodder required by the herd however and Wistin buys in sulla and other fodder "as it is needed". He does not buy regularly nor does he keep any record of his purchases or sales. In December, 1957, he was spending about 15/- per day on fodder other than sulla, on which he had spent £120 during the previous year, 1956. But of costs of production of milk he has little idea. His own labour does not figure as a 'cost'.

Wistin's family of eleven spends about £1 on food per day and eats potatoes and other vegetables and milk from the home farm to the value of a further 7/6d daily. The new demands on money are observed by both Wistin and his wife. She says that in her youth she "would never have dreamt of spending on clothes the money which her daughterr are now spending". "In the old days, a girl went to the sea with her parents or on an occasional visit to Sant Anton - now they go to the cinema or to Valletta to buy shoes for the festa". One of the daughters is shortly to be married to a policeman and Wistin observes that the costs of the wedding and the dowry will be very considerable.

Wistin is a true herdsman. He has no interests which would upset his heavy routine of work. He is "not interested in festas" and his only relaxation is an occasional visit to the races at Marsa when his children are on holiday from school and able to take the goats out to graze.

His father was a labourer with the Services and had only a few fields, but Wistin began working for other herdsmen and then gradually built up his own herd to its present size, particularly in the past few years when, in common with many other Maltese and Gozitan herdsmen, he has ridden on the crest of the guaranteed-price wave. None of his children, however, shows any interest in goats and it is clear that both Wistin's wife and his brother-in-law (who has a half-share in the house occupied by Wistin and his family) are actively discouraging the children from planning to follow their father. Their main objection to herding appears to be the long hours and hard work entailed. Wistin is more than a little sad that the herd and farm which he has built up is likely to be broken up for lack of interest among his sons, for, as he says, "Once you leave the fields you never go back...."

CASE IV : Summary.

(A large-scale goats milk producer with some land.)

A. Land.

6 tmien in the Naxxar-Gharghur Hills region.

*159 423 - 10 field plots in single block of 4 tmien (Rent £2.10.0.), and
- 7 field plots in single block of 2 tmien (Rent £3).
- Grazing ground on Defence Dept., wasteland.

B. Utilisation.

*159 241 311 (i) At any one time about half the land - that of the deep-soil terraces - will be under potatoes with a few vegetables, and the remainder under barley and leguminous fodder.

(ii) The arable land tends to be neglected as a result of pre-occupation with livestock. The land is therefore deteriorating and as soil wash reduces soil-depth and water availability, peas and vetches are replacing less hardy crops. The most accessible fields in this hilly region are worked mainly to meet domestic needs.

*159 231 234 C. Livestock.

90 goats including 75 breeders and 2 billies.
7 sheep for meat and cheesemaking.
This herd built up in farmers lifetime (c.50 years).

D. Capital.

*159 423 (i) No freehold land.

(ii) A freehold village house joint possession of farmer and brother-in-law.

[511 426] (iii) Receives C.A.R.E. food gifts but the family standard of living is by no means poor. No debts except on intra-family loan basis.

E. Labour.

*159 464 (i) Of the family of 11, two children are employed elsewhere and the remainder give occasional help with the stock and on the fields.

(ii) The fields are inaccessible to powered tools. Hired labour for fieldwork - c.15-20 man days @ 24/- a day including mule and implements.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 43 234 (i) Goats milk sales range from February minimum of c.100 lbs. per day to July maximum of 290 lbs. per day. Annual sales of the order of 6,400 galls. @ average price 5/9d per gallon.
Gross income from milk sales c.£1800.
No accurate record of expenditure on purchased feed but total can be estimated as of the order of £500 p.a.
Net income probably not more than £800 p.a.

(ii) Manure sold to arable farmers during first half of year with net profit of £18.

(iii) Home produced and consumed food and milk valued at c.10/- a day.

G. Husbandry.

*159 23 (i) Livestock feeding of traditional pattern sulla, bean and cake is more carefully regulated in relation to yields than in Case III. Considerable emphasis placed on grazing and on stock exercising.

(ii) Herd suffers fairly severely from abortion and the kids from various diseases - 5 out of 16 in 1956, 4 out of 12 in 1957.
No prophylactic or remedial measures except more careful feeding. Sells sick and old stock for slaughtering.

(iii) Tries to extend period of maximum production by prolonging mating period but prefers to rely on "natural" periodicity rather than on producing off-season high yields. Has high standards for yields and has a good record in local shows for billies and breeders.

*158 234 H. General.

An example of a high-class village goats-milk producer.

*159 434 Present relative prosperity due to personal acumen, interest in stock and to guaranteed prices maintained by M.M.U. No great need for capital nor much possibility of accumulating capital. Utilises marginal land and family labour in a reasonably efficient way within local conditions. Will not be succeeded by sons, but represents a not unsatisfactory temporary response to the socio-economic conditions which have increased the production of fresh milk in Malta.

CASE V : Anglu (A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

Anglu supports a wife and ten children on the proceeds of the milk of some four dozen goats. His serious financial position shows no possibilities of improvement.

*159 234 443 912 551 [656] His father was a herdsman and sold milk from door to door in Valletta from a base in the defensive ditch or "fossa" round the city which, incidentally, earned the family the nickname of "Tal-fosa". Some sixty years ago the Government forbade the keeping of goats in Valletta and the family moved some two miles. They continued to take their milk into the capital however until pasteurization began in 1938[41] and Valletta became a "Closed Area" (v. Case IV). Since then Anglu has endeavoured to make a living on the milk sold to the M.M.U.

*159 423 434 [432] Unfortunately, however, he does not have a substantial land-holding which he can put to the production of fodder crops. He must thereby buy in all his requirements and spends some £400 per year on various types of fodder against a total annual income from the milk of £750. The only supplementary item of profit is a small quantity of prickly pear fruit sold from door to door near his farm. He himself holds a single tomna of cultivable land which barely supplies his own family with a few vegetables. The position of his farm within the urban area makes it impossible for him to obtain additional cultivable plots to put to fodder. They are both scarce and subject to pilfering in such a district. Moreover, the position far from grazing land is a serious drawback for, as he observes, "grazing improves the yield of milk."

*159 452 Anglu's farm and family budget is dominated by DEBT (v. Section 3). The fodder has to be purchased from agents who will give credit terms. Other farmers would accept a smaller price but would demand cash on delivery. The bills for fodder and other items are settled as the money from the M.M.U. comes in (fortnightly, in most cases) but Anglu's account never shows a credit balance although it fluctuates from season to season. The table given in the Summary illustrates the progress of his debt over some nine months of 1957. It shows that on 1.9.1957 he still owed nearly £80 to one of his two dealers. This was not finally paid

159 452 off until mid-November but, in the intervening two and a half months, the purchase of fodder had been continued and the debt maintained. In that September he himself put his debt at £60 and said that at the previous Christmas (1956) it had been £100. Thus a debt of £60 in the flush milk season of highest total receipts from the M.M.U. would appear to be the best financial position he could achieve. Removal of the guaranteed milk price to the producer could result only in ruin for this herdsman and the many in the Islands like him.

159 829 In spite of his own poverty Anglu maintains that he is fully aware of the artificial economic picture of which the guaranteed price is a part. In the same breath however he complains that he could sell his milk for more than the M.M.U. gives him in the short season. Here he overlooks the obvious outcome of a removal of the guarantee during the annual glut.

159 198 291 511 His financial hardships make it impossible for him to hire labour or to invest in any capital improvements to the farm or herd. Neither does it enable him to support his family as he aspires. This is especially evident in the case of clothing because the family lives in an urban area and therefore strives to appear as well dressed as their non-farming neighbours. Anglu observes that there has been a change both in the types of clothing worn and in the occasions on which they are worn. He speaks of a Doctor of the district who used to go barefoot in the streets carrying a pair of shoes to put on before entering a house or Church. Nowadays, by contrast, children attend school with shoes and are generally well turned out. This is particularly true of an urban area, where Anglu's children go to school and where his teenage children go to work - a son as an apprentice carpenter, one daughter as a shop assistant and another as a factory worker. None of his children is likely to contemplate farming as a way of life and means of earning a living, for, in their father's case they can see an extreme example of the problem facing many farmers throughout the Islands today, that is a man unable to make a living wage for himself and his family from a farm limited in possibilities by external factors and dependant on a guarantee which could be removed at a general election.

159 429 CASE V : Summary.

(A landless, urban, small-scale goats' milk producer.)

A. Land.

Rents and grazes 1 tomna of wasteland.
Rents and works as a domestic garden 1 tomna of dry land, in the Urban area.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

Most of the 1 tomna of cultivated land is permanently used for potatoes intended for domestic use. There are also a few patches of garlic, beans, onions and other vegetables. A few vines and prickly pear plants give some saleable produce e.g. prickly pear fruit sold from door to door fetched £10 in 1956.

*159 23 234 C. Livestock.

November 1956:
45 goats, 7 kids, 2 billies, 1 horse, 24 hens and rabbits.
November 1956 to July 1957:
15 goats died.
July 1957:
50 goats.
September 1957:
48 goats, 11 kids, 1 billy.
November 1957:
25 milking goats, 10 kids.

*159 42 D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property and little equipment except for cart.
(ii) In perpetual debt - probably between £60 and £100 behind in outgoings at any one time (v. Table 5).
(iii) Receives C.A.R.E. [illegible] food gifts.

*159 464 E. Labour.

No family labour. Of 10 surviving children, only two are above school-leaving age and they have non-agricultural employment.
- Hires no labour or machinery.

*159 434 234 [433] F. Production and Sales.

(v.Table 5)
(i) Goats milk sales range from December minimum of c.20 lbs. per day to May-August maximum of c.70 lbs. per day (1957).
Typical annual pattern of usage in recent years:
2500 gallons sold to N.M.U. (@ average price 5/9 per gall.)
200 gallons sold privately (@ average price c.5/6 per gall.)
200 gallons used domestically.
Gross income from milk sales are of the order of £750 p.a.
Known expenditure on feed of the order of £400 p. .
Net income probably less than £200 p.a.
[432] (ii) Sales of old milch goats and kids fluctuate with condition of herd and with disease. In 1957 10 diseased goats fetched 70/- each and 5 kids c.10/- each. Replacements cost between £8 and £20 for Maltese-Saanen goats in milk.

*159 232 234 G. Husbandry.

(i) Livestock Feeding. Typical pattern:
50 goats receive 4 bundles sulla, 25 lbs. beans and 50 lbs. cake in summer. During winter more greens and less beans. Very little grazing.
(ii) Herd suffers badly from pregnancy and after-birth diseases and also from abortion. No prophylactic or remedial measures known to the farmer who, like most of his type, merely tries to sell sick stock for slaughtering and replaces with new.
(iii) No real control of lactations and most of milking goats are mated between September and February. [illegible] is reluctant to try summer serving since suffering losses in 1956. Regards yield of 2 lbs. per day as minimal.

TABLE V.

(Case V : Accounts)

Date	Dealer	Fodder	Etal[1]	Shillings per rotal	Cost £ -s- d	Payment £ -s- d
7.12.56	B	Beans	287	70	10 - 0-10	
		Cake	201	50	5 - 0- 6	
		Corn[2]	113	56	2 -16-	
5. 1.57	B	Beans	285	71	10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	215	40	5 - 5- 3	
15. 1.57	B					5 - 8- 5
1. 2.57	B	Beans	255	71	9 - 0- 1	
		Cake	319	40	7 -16- 3	
						13 - 1- 7
15. 2.57	B	Beans	291	72	10 - 9- 0	
		Cake	186	48	4 - 9- 6	
						17
27. 2.57	B	Cake	638	47	15	
						15
15. 3.57	B	Beans	160	71	6 - 7- 9	
		Cake	385	47	8 -11- 6	
						15
1. 4.57	B	Beans	185	70	6 - 9- 6	
		Cake	278	48	6 - 4- 9	
						15
15. 4.57	B	Beans	218	69	7 -10- 0	
		Cake	282	46	6 - 6- 9	
						15
27. 4.57	A	Beans	282½	65	9 - 3- 9	
		Cake	266½	44	5 -17- 3	
		Corn[2]	95	56	2 -15- 3	
1. 5.57	B	Cake	582	45	13 - 2- 0	
		W.Potato[3]	205		2 - 1- 0	
						17 - 4
16. 5.57	A	Beans	76		2 - 9- 6	
17. 5.57	B	Beans	119	69	4 - 2- 0	
		Cake	474	45	10 -13- 6	
20. 5.57	B					15
21. 5.57	A	Beans	316		10 - 2- 6	
		Cake	323½	44	7 - 2- 6	
1. 6.57	B					15
3. 6.57	B	Beans	211	69	7 - 5- 6	
		Cake	290	45	6 -10- 6	
4. 6.57	A	Beans	383½	64	9 -14- 2	
		Cake	271½	44	5 -19- 6	
		Bran			6- 0	
12. 6.57	B					15
19. 6.57	B	Cake	621	45	13 -19- 5	
22. 6.57	A	Beans	330½	56	9 - 5- 0	
		Cake	261½	44	5 -15- 2	
2. 7.57	B	Beans	365	57	9 - 6- 3	
		Cake	325	45	7 - 6- 3	
						15
5. 7.57	A	Beans	338	56½	8 -10- 9	
		Cake	286½	44	6 - 3- 6	
1. 7.57	A					8
13. 7.57	A					15
16. 7.57	B	Cake	753	44	17 -11- 3	
						16
27. 7.57	A	Beans	371	48	8 -18- 6	
		Cake	296½	44	6 -11- 6	
1. 8.57	B	Beans	171	57	4 - 7- 3	
		Cake	383	45	8 -12- 3	
						15
2. 8.57	A					15
8. 8.57	A	Bari seed	96	52	2 -10- 0	
9. 8.57	A	Beans	344	51	8 -15- 6	
		Cake	268	44	6 - 8- 3	
14. 8.57	A					17
16. 8.57	B					15
23. 8.57	A	Beans	300½	51	10 - 3- 9	
					£353 - 1- 8	£273 -14- 0

[426] 1. 9.57 Debt (to A) - £79.7.8d

(1 - see Appendix 5; 2 - qamh harun; 3 - potato tax-xitwa)

H. General.

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This farmer is typical of many herdsmen. Without capital or land he derives from previous generations of peripatetic herdsmen who milked their goats on the 'rounds' of urban houses. Now forced to sell his milk to a centralised agency (the M.M.U.) for pasteurisation he is protected from price decline during the summer season of over-production but prevented from obtaining extra profits and perquisites (often of rather a dubious character). Without capital he has to rely on credit terms for fodder purchases and therefore pays merchant prices which are higher than those of other farmers. A garden plot and the stock supplies about half the family's food, without which increment the family economy could not operate. There is no possible future except on a low level for this type of production.

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CASE VI : Gaetu (A milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

In May, 1957, Gaetu had 9 cows and about 50 goats. During the year he sold some thirteen goats for the abattoir and of the eight kids born in the year several died "because they didn't want to go on living". In November of the same year three of his cows had to be killed, two of them on account of 'paralysis of the feet' (probably related to lack of exercise and perpetual stall-feeding). The goats get scarcely more grazing than the cows, being limited to the small yards adjoining the main farm building (v. Map 8).

The compulsory slaughter of the three ailing cows (for which he will be entitled to import replacements) has profoundly shaken Gaetu's faith in cows in general. He maintains that he "will put his efforts into goats for the loss of a goat means a loss of £10 against the £200 in the case of a cow."

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Together with his adult son, Gaetu works 23 tmien of land, including some which is irrigable; and the emphasis in cropping is heavily on fodder production. But they still have to buy in a considerable amount of feed. For example in the 1956-57 winter Gaetu spent £175 on sulla, £99 for straw, and £15 on winter potatoes which were in glut. He feeds his animals according to yield which appears to mean that he gives more food and attention to the better yielding animals. "There is no profit in providing expensive fodder for poor-yielding animals." In fact, however, Gaetu has very little appreciation of his profit. None of his labour or that of his son is counted as a cost and he keeps no detailed account of income and expenditure. He gets receipts from the M.M.U. but otherwise, being illiterate himself, feels "reluctant to ask anyone for a written statement". Nevertheless he reckons to be able to put together some sort of balance sheet for the income-tax authorities each year.

600 authorities each year.

*159 Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the ground floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

*159 423 551 [554] [621] The family has occupied the present house for several generations and has acquired the street name as a family nick-name (these nick-names remain the standard, even semi-official, mode of reference though not of address, when the Christian name is used, v.B/376). Gnetu is a prominent member of the community in his part of the village which now includes some non-agricultural workers.

*159 829 46 234 His outlook is rather more 'urban' than that of more isolated farmers, such as Case II. His adult son is an active supporter of the local football club and a regular cinema-goer. Gnetu himself is not concerned with such relaxation. He is devoted to his animals and especially to the goats which he will keep "because we have always had them". He takes an interest in farming and, despite his illiteracy, is fully prepared to listen to advice.

*159 829 544 234 178 He enters animals in shows at Ghammieri and attended public lectures organized for farmers in 1957 (Section 4). He thought the lectures and a film on dairying technique interesting but gave the usual verdict that Maltese farming suffers from special difficulties of its own which cannot be solved by what he believes are "foreign methods". He observes that "it would be an excellent idea to go to the trouble of washing ones animals regularly but the time and labour thus expended would bring no additional return to the farmer". He believes that the methods which he employs throughout the working of his farm are tried and therefore to be trusted although in more than a few cases some basic cost accounting (as suggested at the lectures) would reveal the patent weaknesses in his argument.

CASE VI : Summary.

*159 423 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a considerable land holding.)

A. Land.

23 tmien of land, mainly dry, comprising 11 plots in 7 parcels arranged in two main blocks, one in the Ghajn Qajjet (Rabat-Dingli Uplands) one in the Blue Clay Basin on slopes of Wied Qlejgha. The former on soils of the 1-Iklin Complex, the latter on good, sheltered Carbonate Raw Soils.

[427] All rented from a number of landlords, including the Civil government. Rent estimated at c.£30 p.a.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

The emphasis is on fodder crops.

Crop plan, Feb. 1957.

Plot 1	Potatoes	Plot 7	Sulla
Plot 2	Sulla	Plot 8	Tomatoes, potatoes.
Plot 3	Barley	Plot 9	Tomatoes
Plot 4	Barley	Plot 10	Vines
Plot 5	Vetches	Plot 11	Sulla
Plot 6	Poor grass for bedding and grazing.	Plus wallside fruits and vines in several plots.	

*159 231 234 C. Livestock.

- 50 goats
- 2 cows, 3 calves, expecting to add 3 imported Friesians at c.£140 each.
- Chickens: buys unsexed chickens at 30-40/- for 50 in the hope of gaining egg producers. (Sexed females would cost 112/- for 50).

*159 42 454 [409] D. Capital.

- The farmhouse and buildings are owned, though the exercise yards are rented (v. Map 8).
- Seems to have a small capital reserve but is unwilling to spend this on equipment, which he prefers to buy with the aid of a govt. loan.
- Some £1200 amassed during the war has now been largely spent, in part on the house but mainly on purchase of stock.
- No mechanical equipment apart from a motor-pump bought for £68 in 1948.
- Tractor plows hired at £1 per tomna when necessary.

*159 464 E. Labour.

- No permanent hired labour, but two youths employed at 10/- each per day, all found, for c.3 months of the year, and occasional hire of neighbours' sons.
- Full time workers: the farmer and his married son: no female labour is employed.
- The farmer is the only one of 7 brothers who have remained in farming.

*159 43 F. Production and Sales.

- Goats' milk to M.M.U. varies between 5 and 10 galls. daily, plus c.7 galls. cows milk. Probable income from these sources well over £1000 p.a.
- Against this must be set considerable expenditure on fodder, records of which are not kept. Sulla may cost up to £300 p.a. Straw may cost up to £125 p.a. Beans and cake at £3.10.0 and £2.18.6 per qantar respectively.
- Secondary small sources of income include "private sales" of milk, sales of vegetables and manure.

These incomplete accounts suggest a modest profit, but this has not prevented disappearance of war accumulated capital reserves. (See D: Capital).

*159 231 234 G. Husbandry.

- Feeds according to yield. Large scale purchases of fodder necessary, despite quite careful attention to holding.
- Feeds vegetables (including potatoes) when these are cheap owing to glut; when this is done, bean ration is reduced.
- Rations are doubled for cows in calf.
- Cows are exercised in yard but never grazed.
- Goats grazed on waste and fodder fields.

*159 433 H. General.

- When asked whether he considered himself to be herdsman or farmer, replied that he might be regarded as a "general dealer" in crops and animals.
- In fact his enterprise is overwhelmingly directed towards production of milk and is yet another dependent on the guaranteed milk price.
- Fields are definitely secondary, though well-tended and are primarily for the provision of fodder.
- This farmer appears to make a modest profit from his enterprise, but has no appreciation of the costs involved.

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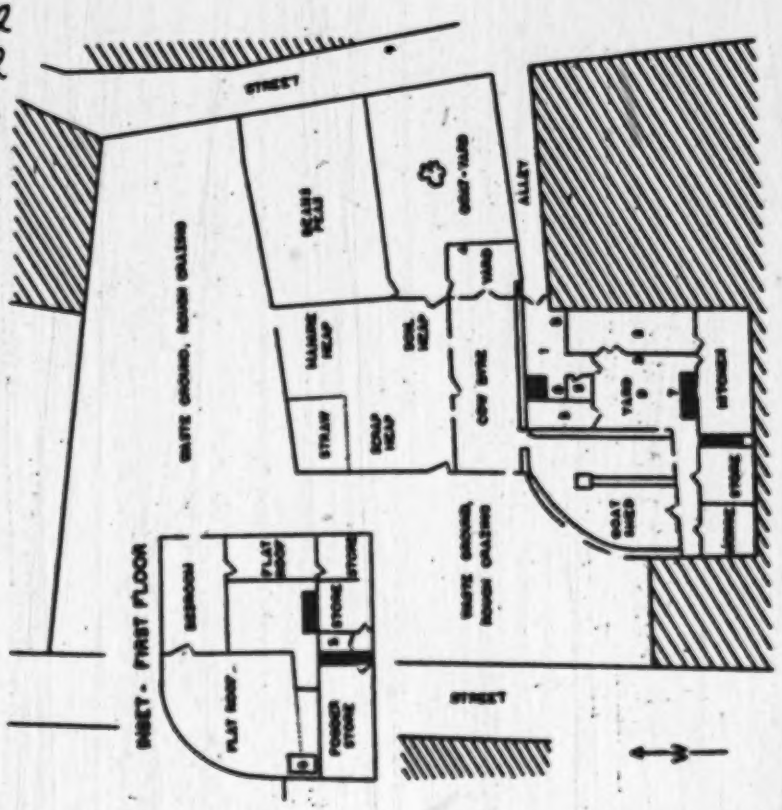

MAP·8
FARMSTEAD
CASE VI

[following p. 102]

CASE VII : Wensu (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

159 234 Like Case VI, Wensu has been a goat herder and is now anxious to concentrate on dairy cows. At present he holds 4 Friesians, belonging to himself and his sons, but he wants to import Ayrshires. This cow, says Wensu, is better suited to Maltese conditions, needing less feed than the Friesian and standing up better to long periods of confinement in cramped stalls. Wensu became interested in cows when the Government forbade the selling of raw goats' milk in Valletta. For a time thereafter he sold bottled milk in the capital and then returned to selling raw goats' milk in still unclosed areas such as nearby Cospicua until that too came to an end with the evacuation in 1940. After the War he went back to cows' milk production and sold his output to the M.M.U. He acquired the Friesians through an exchange for inferior quality and diseased goats organized by the Government (one cow for 13 goats). At present, he says, cows' milk production is the more profitable ("Six cows will support a small family") but that this would not be so were it possible to give goats good grazing land at low cost. He reckons that good grazing saves 15/- per day on the fodder bill.

159 809 178 232 242 Wensu's Case illustrates an important feature of the study of a predominantly illiterate section of society. This is the prominence of personality in the thoughts and actions of the individual. Unable to read and suspicious of what he may hear over Rediffusion, Wensu relies on personal contact to a very considerable degree. This is clear from a brief survey of his life. He speaks nowadays of a certain Dr. MacFarlane whose veterinary skill and advice impressed him and who originally recommended him to keep Ayrshires. To listen to Wensu talking of this "Scots Doctor" one gathers that Wensu last spoke with him quite recently. In fact, however, Dr. A.M. MacFarlane was Superintendent Veterinary Surgeon in Malta some half a century ago! A Mr. Hurst gave him advice on bulls some 25 years ago while, much more recently, Mr. Ebejer Blythe of the Department of Agriculture gave him much valued information on lucerne as a fodder and, latest of all, Dr. Godfrey Alton, the veterinary expert, has become something of a help for the injections he has arranged. Evidently, therefore, any improvements in Maltese farming have a greater chance of success if this element of personal contact - particularly in the cases of illiterate farmers - can be established. One man who will argue with one farmer for a morning on a single topic stands a greater chance of general success than has the big public lecture or even the practical demonstration.

159 For once a single man can be convinced of the success of a
829 novel method or crop he will soon be copied by his fellows.
178 Wenzu himself observes that when he had heard about the
246 lucerne for the first time and had planted some with great success in his own fields neighbouring farmers were not slow to copy him (v. Section 4).

CASE VII : Summary.

159 (A goats' and cows' milk producer with a small land holding.)

423 A. Land.
427 - Has 3 timen, worked by another farmer who shares income (£21) with him.
- Holds on lease a further area which had been let out for building and brings him £32 p.a. - much more than could be obtained for its crops.
- Also rents grazing in summer months.

159 B. Utilisation.
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241 - The 3 timen field is under sulla, barley and a few vegetables.

C. Livestock.

159 - Is changing over from goats to cattle.
23 - Goats: 1954: 60; 1957: 44; 1958: 38.
234 - Cattle: 4 Friesians. Aims to build up the herd by private import of Ayrshires of which he has a high opinion. 3 of the cattle are owned by his sons though he tends them.

159 D. Capital.
[454] - No information, but appears to have some reserves.

E. Labour.

[464] - Some assistance from a son who is in govt. employment.
- Hires no labour.
- Thus does great bulk of the work himself.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Milk (Oct. 1957) 10 gallons goats' milk, 9 gallons cows' milk daily to M.M.U. Gives sons a share in income though they appear to make no payment to their father for fodder, stall accommodation etc.
[234] - Calves and kids usually sold after weaning.

G. Husbandry.

159 (1) Grazing. Where possible, goats grazed out and this is
23 said to save him 15/- a day and to reduce sulla con-
[427] sumption to 4 bundles daily.
- Rents 7 timen of govt. land from part-timers at £1
[311] per month from Jan. to Aug.
- This land is good, cultivable land untended because of part-timers' inability to work it.

(2) Fodder.
- Cake, barley, potatoes, beans, sulla.
- Feeds all that the animals will take.
- Buys in bulk when prices low.
- In six months (Oct. 1957-Mar. 1958) used nearly 2 tons of cake and 15 tons of beans.
[435] - Sulla is bought at 9/- to 16/- per hamul according to
[434] quality and uses some 200 hmiel per annum.
- Fodder costs leave very small profit margin from milk.

H. General.

159 - Attempting to profit from sales to M.M.U. with no
156 knowledge of the economics involved.
- Extremely suspicious of agents, government etc.

159 - Has a higher opinion of his ability as a stock farmer than facts warrant.
156 - Aims to build up cattle herd in place of goats since he assumes (with no factual background) that profit will be greater.
[231] - Much influenced by personalities and is willing to accept advice uncritically if the person giving it is, in his opinion, sound.
- Lacks educational background and experience necessary to make a real profit from his herd, but seems content with present living conditions.

*159 CASE VIII : Niklaws (A working partnership of five brothers with diversified production)
472 Niklaws is the primus inter pares in a permanent par-
[423] tnership of five brothers. The syndicate farms some 70
[234] acres and, in February, 1957, had a herd of thirty cattle. There is some division of labour among the five, with one being acknowledged the expert on cattle, another "knows most about the fields", and a third the driver and general business manager. Both their father, who died in 1915, and their grandfather were farmers but the brothers have considerably added to the holding.

*159 The emphasis of the partnership is now heavily on cows'
472 milk production. They retain only two goats. With about
234 20 cows in milk they aim to produce some 50 gallons a day
433 - Niklaws observes that the yield from cows can be maintained while that of goats fluctuates markedly with the seasons. Costs of cows' milk production are also steadier, says
[232] Niklaws, with fresh greenery in the winter and prickly pear in the summer months as supplements to the standard items of diet. The fodder produced on the brothers' own fields has to be supplemented by purchased feed but judicious use is made of vegetables in glut, especially cauliflowers which could be bought by the farmer at 1s per sack in early 1957.

*159 Mechanisation on the farm includes the hiring of a
407 mould-board and tractor to deep-plow the land every fourth
454 year (cost - £1 per tomna), and the hiring of a threshing
234 machine. The brothers themselves own two hand cultivators
[429] and a small van, complete with the partnership insignia on the door. Currently much capital is being put into building a large, two-storey cows' shed within the village. The brothers aim to centralise their milk herd here and plan to have an adjacent exercise yard and water tank. At present their animals are divided among three widely separated byres, although all of these are easily accessible by road - and
[435] the van. One of the existing sheds was built between 1949 and 1952 at a cost of "£3,000". On the costs of the present building Niklaws will divulge nothing. His attitude suggests that the money is coming from saved reserves rather than a loan, for he appears reluctant to borrow money even on low interest terms "because anything might happen to prevent the money being repaid."

the money being repaid." Niklaws observes that "Farming depends on nature" and he points to the storms of late 1957 as an example of the way in which the farmer may suffer irreparable and unexpected loss. On this occasion standing crops, soil and field walls were washed away and the whole planting and sowing cycle interrupted.

The brothers also complain of the present marketing regime which, they claim, militates unfairly against the producing farmer. "There is no guaranteed market for field crops sold and there are too many middlemen taking too large a cut." The brothers cling to the typical idea in Maltese farming that the 'Government ought to guarantee sales of field-produce in the same way that milk sales are guaranteed'. They have little appreciation of ruling market conditions outside Malta. Niklaws says that the labour of the brothers is not considered as a cost - "if it were there would be no money left". They appear to have been in the habit of employing labour for many years and today have a full-time cow-hand. Only one of the brothers is married. Four of the brothers have therefore only themselves to support on their share in the income from this well-organized and apparently remunerative partnership, situated in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta.

CASE VIII : Summary.

(Working partnership of five brothers with diversified production.)

A. Land.

c.70 tmien of unirrigated land in Żebbuġ Region. 16 field plots in 11 parcels in a linear arrangement extending over 2½ miles in the Żebbuġ and Wied tal-Isqof areas. All land lies in one of the best dry-farming regions of Malta on good marled Xero-rendzina and Carbonate Raw Soils.

B. Utilisation. (i) Typical arrangement.

		Winter	Summer
Plot 1.	8½ tmien	Potatoes & Wheat	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 2.	1 tmien	Potatoes	Cattle exercise yard
Plot 3.	1½ tmien	Onions, Potatoes, Vines.	Legumes & Vines
Plot 4.	3 tmien	Potatoes & Vegetables.	Cauliflowers & Vegetables.
Plot 5.	2½ tmien	Sulla & Barley	Tomatoes
Plot 6.	1½ tmien	Cereals, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 7.	2 tmien	Wheat, Cauliflowers & Tomatoes	
Plot 8.	7½ tmien	Sulla	Cauliflowers & Tomatoes
		Cauliflowers, Wheat & Tomatoes	
Plot 9.	2 tmien	Vines	
Plot 10.	2½ tmien	Potatoes	Tomatoes & Cauliflower
Plot 11.	21 tmien	Vines (3½ tmien)	
		Barley	Sulla, Tomatoes
		Vetches	Fallow
Plot 12.	2½ tmien	Potatoes	Sulla
Plot 13.	1½ tmien	Wheat	Sulla, Vetches
Plot 14.	2½ tmien	Fallow, Melons, Tomatoes & Cauliflower	
Plot 15.	5½ tmien	Citrus Orchard	
		Tomatoes	
Plot 16.	1½ tmien	Cauliflower	Tomatoes

159 24 (ii) The intensive summer utilisation of the land for unirrigated summer vegetables is characteristic of this region. Tomatoes and brassicas are dominant. Vetches and beans are grown as catch-crops in small patches. This type of cropping sequence i.e. potatoes, vegetables, cereals, sulla, is typical of well-developed Maltese mixed-farming.

159 23 234 C. Livestock.

(i) c.33 head of cattle including 20-22 milch cows, 1 stud bull, 2 bull calves for fattening.
(ii) 2 goats, 1 mule, 1 pony, 12 hens.
(iii) The cattle-herd has been built up since 1940.

159 [472] D. Capital.

(i) The accepted leader of this partnership enterprise is typical of the more commercially minded and successful Maltese farmers in that he was prepared to discuss anything except financial details. The amount of capital of property and even the details of land-holding of this "kulak" class is known accurately by nobody.

[402] [343] [454] (ii) Equipment includes 1 van, 1 hand tractor, 2 water pumps and two large cattle byres. At local values, farm buildings and mechanised equipment represents over £8,000 investment.

[426] (iii) This partnership prefers to indulge in small-scale family borrowing and lending rather than to use official-and controlled- credit facilities.

[473] (iv) Two village houses and over 3 tmien of land are owned freehold.

E. Labour.

159 (i) Partnership labour force totals 6 full-time farm-workers (5 brothers and 1 adult son).
464 (ii) A youth employed full-time with cattle.
407 (iii) All plots are deep-plowed by crawler tractor every fourth year at cost of £1 per tomna.
429 (iv) On this relatively level land a varying fraction of cereal reaping is done by machine. Machine cutting costs £1 a tomna, hand harvesting £3 a tomna. Hand cutting is less wasteful of straw but these farmers have a rare appreciation of the importance of the time-element in their complex economic and land-use system.

159 433 F. Production and Sales.

(i) The only certain information obtainable is of sales of cows milk. During 1957 minimum daily sales averaged 283 lbs. during May, and the maximum of 350 lbs. during March was almost matched in August and the following January. This constancy of sales based on a firm intention to allow production to vary but slightly from an average of 30 gallons a day from 20 milch cows is rarely found in Malta and is typical only of a few technically advanced and commercially minded farmers.

159 48 (ii) The partnership although possessing a stud bull usually buys cows in milk (preferably Ayrshires), a 'good' yielder costing c.£210. Breeding and raising heifers if regarded as unprofitable.

(iii) The main sales of arable produce consist of summer cauliflowers and tomatoes. In an effort to avoid the usual glut of summer brassicas considerable importance is attached to extending the season of production into autumn and winter. Price variations are considerable e.g. In 1956 cauliflower prices dropped to 1/- a sack while in 1956 they had risen to 20/- a sack.

*159 43 (iv) Potatoes are grown regularly for the home market in spite of price variations - reported as ranging between 50/- per qantar in 1956 and 8/4 in 1957.

(v) Home grown fodder and forage makes up c.80% of non-concentrate feed. Other crops make members of the partnership self-sufficient in foodstuffs (at a high level of consumption).

(vi) Annual sales of wine-grapes c.40 qantar.

(vii) The response to general variations in yields and prices is to maintain the general pattern of production. The syndicate has enough capital to survive periodic losses and therefore deliberately ignores fluctuations. The only alterations made in a planned cropping sequence result from natural hazards e.g. if a late crop of sulla fails as a result of poor germination, a rapid switch may be made to balck vetch.

c. Husbandry. General standards are good.

* 159 242 (i) Soil maintaining rotations are carefully and consciously practised. Thus leguminous fodders are regarded as essential in arable farming.

(ii) Fertiliser application is heavy:
- Organic manure is applied for the first two years of a four year cycle at a rate of c.60 sacks per tomna.
- Sulphate of Ammonia is applied to all the fields each year at a rate of 15-20 sacks per tomna.
- They do not regard the idea of green manuring with any favour although they use dry vegetable refuse mixed with dung.

(iii) They are very conscious of minor regional differences in soil and climate and regard the parcellated holding of selected land much more important than convenience of working a consolidated holding e.g.
- 'earliness' is associated with coastal situations and "early tomatoes will not come up in Żebbuġ".
- soils are classified as follows:
  - 'ħamrija' (red) is good for all crops
  - 'abjad' (white) for cereals and tomatoes but not for potatoes.
  - 'sewdina' (grey) for sulla and tomatoes.
  - 'tafli' (clay) poor for green crops.
  - 'ħirbi', an intermediate soil, easy to work.

The differences between these types and the presence or absence of nodule beds, saline layers etc. are held to be sufficient justification for rental differentiation as between fields and parts of fields.

This articulate consciousness of environmental variations even in this case reinforces conservatism and much more importance is attached to such natural 'controls' than to crop strains.

* 159 232 (iv) Cattle are well housed and fed according to yield. Very vague about balanced feeding and rely on traditional greens, beans, hay and cake. Nevertheless in the spokesman's own words they are aiming at 'better management of the cattle rather than more animals'.

* 159 829 232 242 (v) In some ways, the high standards achieved using traditional techniques are proving a barrier to further technical advances, e.g. the cattle are relatively free from disease and therefore more trust is placed in the expertise of the syndicate than in the 'book-knowledge' of a vet., e.g. whatever experts may say, any crop innovation must be demonstrated successfully and in the <u>immediate</u> locality.

* N. General.

159 472 451 (i) In some of its characteristics this type of syndicate is not typical of Maltese farming systems. The partnership seems to derive historically from a line of large farmers and is now held together by the drive and ability of one of their number.

*159 (ii) Nevertheless if one ignores the partnership organisation one may use this case-study as illustrating the practises and modes of thought of the most highly developed type of Maltese farmer.

472 451 181 - Characteristically there is a marked reluctance to give any financial information. Official records and returns are even less accurate than in the case of smaller-scale and more ignorant cultivators. Some records are certainly kept by the group but individual shares in gross income do not seem to be formally arranged. There does no seem even here to be either a monetary evaluation of their own labour or any assessment of net profit as distinct from gross income. Receipts appear to go into a central treasury which is drawn on by agreement over each specific case.

- Although there is present considerable financial acumen this is a matter of peasant shrewdness rather than any real commercial understanding.

*159 433 181 242 - Yields are good - tomatoes will average 15 qantar per tomna, grapes 10 qantar per tomna, but these are attained by the careful application of proverbial wisdom and not by the possession of better scientific understanding than their neighbours.

*159 181 232 242 - In spite of the fact that the syndicate's capital reserves and their practical abilities are considerable, the physical environment dominates their actions. They are not prepared to experiment themselves and they look askance at those who are. One has an unhappy feeling that as already noted, their very success with traditional methods inhibits their acceptance of new ones. Thus even with farmers such as these there is a great mental gulf between them and typical farmers of Northern Europe and between them and their advisers.

*159 472 464 CASE IX : Antnin & Ġakbu (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows' milk production.)

Both these men are married and occupy houses in the same street. They have operated as a single farming unit during their whole working lives and it is not always clear whether even they can distinguish which property belongs to each. The teenage eldest sons of each man work full-time with their fathers whose wives occasionally assist with field-work.

* 159 178 234 Some few years ago the two friends had 36 goats. By 1958 only two remained and the emphasis had swung to cows' milk production. In 1956 they had about 18 cows; eighteen months later the joint herd had doubled in size. Their aim has been to build up as large a herd as possible as quickly as possible in order to benefit from the guaranteed price offered by the M.M.U. for milk produced. The two men insist that they are at the same time striving to build up a

159 178 234 substantial herd to hand over to their sons who, however, show no inclination to stay in farming.

* 159 232 829 234 A glance at their herd reveals their interest to be in quantity rather than quality. They admit, moreover, that they lack a good deal of knowledge on management of a herd of this size. A number of their cattle die from diseases and ailments of which Antnin and Ġakbu have little appreciation - official sources revealed that two which died in 1957 had anthrax. Their own inclination is to slaughter an ailing animal for meat before it dies naturally. If a cow dies without replacement from the Government they become very resentful. They also suffer a high death rate among imported calves and again blame 'Government'. "The Government never tells us anything about the rearing of animals" assert the two men somewhat naively since they also maintain that "no-one but the farmers knows farming".

* 159 234 231 In 1958, twelve of the cattle were Bastard-Inglizi type As the sanitary authorities would not grant a license for a larger herd to occupy the present makeshift accommodation (a patch-work, corrugated iron shed) Antnin and Ġakbu aimed to replace these Bastard-Inglizi with the same number of Friesian stock, though would have preferred to have gone on increasing the number in their herd - and thereby the amount of milk sold to the M.M.U.

* 159 234 433 246 Antnin insists that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed". When asked for an estimate of the cost of producing a gallon of milk he asks "Who knows?" ("Min jaf?"). The fields held by the two men produce a considerable amount of fodder but much more has to be purchased. During glut conditions they feed very cheap cauliflower and, in the dry months between June and September, give the herd prickly pear at the rate of a lorry-load per day. They are almost unique among cows' milk producers in Malta and Gozo in that they are able to graze their animals on War Department land nearby although they have no guarantee of tenure.

* 159 434 426 Despite the large holding of land and the recent rapid increase in the size of the herd, the financial position of Antnin and Ġakbu is precarious in the extreme. They are operating in a permanent state of DEBT, and have a fluctuating debit account with the dealer who supplies them with fodder (cf. Case V). This makes them reluctant to take on any new debts at high interest rates. The Government loans at 1% do however appeal to them as means of buying more cattle and still further increasing their milk production. Their debt is such that the two friends can rarely keep female calves but have to sell them to pay hire-purchase instalments on cows.

*159 178 829 [454] Their approach to farming is in fact a set of contradictions. With no capital reserves they are making every effort to expand their herd even though this means continued debt. They are full of "our rights as farmers" and yet "suspicious of the Government and what it says". As with milk, "the Government ought to be responsible for the marketing of field produce". On the other hand Antnin is "against co-operatives in farming", although he has never had any experience of any co-operative or farmers' union. They claim to be building up their farm and herd in order to be able to hand over a substantial business to their sons; but their constant complaint is that "Farming is finished in Malta" ("Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat"), and the avowed intent of both sons is "to leave farming where we earn nothing". They talk of leaving to "get a job" as if farming itself is something less than a 'job'.

CASE IX : Summary.

*159 423 (A long-established partnership of two unrelated stock farmers now engaged in cows'milk production.)

A. Land.

[429] Approximately 100 tmien of dry land in south-east Malta, the bulk in one compact block but with several outlying plots. The exact limits are uncertain since some land owned or rented by others is worked by the partnership. 25 plots are held from several landlords, Defence Dept. being the most important, and there is access to a good deal of grazing land, generally held at low rents from Defence Depts.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

	1957	1958
Plot 1	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 2	Potatoes, peas, beans, onions.	Potatoes, cauliflowers
Plot 3	Potatoes, sulla	Wheat
Plot 4	Used as a pig sty	
Plot 5	Wheat	Wheat
Plot 6	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 7	Sulla	Sulla
Plot 8	Some potatoes, cowshed, exercise yard, manure heap and pig sties.	
Plot 9	Fallow	Plowed
Plot 10	Sulla	Wheat
Plot 11	Sulla	Plowed
Plot 12	Beans, barley	Wheat
Plot 13	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 14	Wheat	Sulla
Plot 15	Wheat, sulla	Beans
Plot 16	Wheat	Beans
Plot 17	Potatoes	Wheat, beans
Plot 18	Beans, barley	Potatoes, wheat
Plot 19	Yard and buildings	
Plot 20	Wheat	Barley
Plots 21-25	Wasteland grazing	

*159 231 C. Livestock.

Shifting emphasis in recent years.
- Cattle 1956: 18; 1957: 36.
- Goats "some years ago": 36; 1957: 2.
- Pigs 8.

*159 231 The cattle are very mixed in breed including "Bastard-Inglizi", supposedly pure Friesians and crosses between the two.

*159 D. Capital.

(i) No freehold property.

42 (ii) In perpetual debt, no reserves and frequent borrowings, particularly from the Government.

[423]

(iii) Equipment - usual hand tools

[454] - rotary cultivator bought with a Government loan of £550, repayable at £100 p.a. plus 1% interest.

[407] - small motor van, bought in 1953, for transport of milk.

[312] - no piped water until Feb. 1958.

E. Labour.

*159 464 - No permanent hired labour.

- One man and his daughter together at 30/- per diem and one youth at 25/- engaged at busy times.
- Family labour: two partners and their two eldest sons work full-time and there is additional help from wives and children.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 434 435 - Income almost entirely from sale of milk to M.M.U. Production varies greatly: June 1957: 50 galls. daily; Dec. 1957: 35; Feb. 1958: 80. Sold at 5/6 to 6/- per gall.

- Male calves sold to butcher at £10; females sometimes sold at £30-£40 to pay debts.
- No accounts kept of feeding costs. These include one truckload of prickly pear (30/-) daily from June to October, beans at 55/- per qantar and cake at 46/- (July 1957). A considerable amount of grazing is carried out e.g. on sulla bought green at £6 per tonna.
- Potato sales insignificant and in 1957, owing to glut, involved a loss.

[433]

- Vegetables produced are all consumed by the families.

G. Husbandry.

*159 23 (i) - The importance attached to grazing of cattle is unusual. (Most Maltese cattle are stall-fed all the year.)

- The emphasis is on numbers of stock rather than on their quality. The turn-over from goats to cattle has been helped by the government exchange scheme and by Govt. loans.

[232]

- Occasional outbreaks of disease unnoticed until too late.

[241] (ii) - Crops are often neglected owing to time involved in animal husbandry.

*159 234 829 H. General.

The partnership is attempting to profit from guaranteed milk prices without the knowledge or skill to do so. The herd seems to have been built up beyond the numbers which can be properly tended by the labour available.

There is little knowledge of modern methods and still less of costs and returns. The view is firmly held that "cows yield according to the amount they are fed" and the reply to the question "How much fodder is required to produce a gallon of milk was "Min jaf?" (Who knows?).

The partners are extremely conservative in their attitude to marketing, suspicious of outside interference and hostile towards the idea of co-operatives. Yet they expect

[426] continued Government assistance.

Their general pessimistic attitude is summed up: "Il-biedja f'Malta spiċċat" (Farming in Malta is finished).

Despite guaranteed milk prices on which the whole economy is based, the partnership is permanently in debt.

159 Their failure to profit contrasts with the success of the
824 Gozitan milk producer, Case I.
234 The partnership's main aim is to accumulate cattle with-
433 in the current artificial economy of milk production. There is no thought or care for what might happen if the subsidy were removed or even reduced.

CASE X : Ġamri (An arable farmer in partnership with a brother and engaged in diversified production.)

*159 Ġamri is an arable farmer, specialising in fruit. He
241 has a couple of goats and sheep, a mule, and is keen to
231 acquire more pigs for fattening. Most of his effort is how-
427 ever centred on the land holding which he and his brother work
472 in partnership. Some fifty-three tmien are rented by the two brothers together while Ġamri himself rents a further ten tmien. About two-thirds of the land (17 plots) is owned by private landlords, one sixth belongs to the Church, one tenth to the Government and the remainder - about an acre - is owned by Ġamri's father.

*159 The working partnership of the two brothers is of many
472 years' standing. The brother's eldest son now works full-
464 time alongside the two men. The brothers say they could not
241 cope with any more land than they are working at present. They share the common view that hired farm labour is both uneconomic (at 25s or more for an eight-hour day) and inefficient. The land worked by the partnership is dry (baghli) apart from two irrigable (saqwi) tmien. In 1957 it was utilized as follows:

311

Fruit and vines	21 tmien
Cereals and fodders	18 tmien
Fallow, unproductive, or sub-let	13 tmien
Potatoes	6 tmien
Other vegetables	5 tmien

*159 Apples are the biggest single cash crop and the overall
245 success of any year depends on them. They were introduced
242 to the district by Ġamri's father some years ago and now grow in large numbers in a sheltered valley along with lemons, oranges, mulberries, figs, cherry-plums and other fruits. The produce is good but is usually affected by some pest or disease. The most prevalent of these is a boring grub. Ġamri and his brother spend a large part of September and October simply gouging this pest from the trunks of affected trees - with penknife and piece of wire. They regard this time-consuming and unremunerative task fatalistically. But of late Ġamri has been wondering whether the same result might not be achieved in a fraction of the time by the application of some spray. He knows nothing of the details of this and is more than a little doubtful of possibilities.

*159 Since 1953 Ġamri and his brother have expanded their
245 area under vines, buying seedlings from the Government Farm
435 at 1d each. They consider vines the most profitable of crops, especially grapes for wine since these can be picked

*159 245 in a single picking and do not require the same attention to quality as those for the table.

*159 245 231 451 In this move towards more vine production and the recent interest in pigs Ġamri is making a conscious effort to emphasize the profitable in place of the unprofitable. Income for Ġamri means the receipts on produce sold. Unlike most farmers he keeps a record of this income in order to see "how business is progressing" and in order to enable him and his brother to effect a share-out of profits. As found generally Ġamri takes no account of his own labour, or that of his brother or nephews, in his costing. Moreover the position is complicated by the fact that no clear distinction is made between money spent on the home and family, and money spent on field rents, costs of seed, manure, etc. It is all held [593] "in one purse". Ġamri himself maintains that a more usual practice is for the farmer to give his wife a fixed amount for house-keeping but, in his own case, there is clearly a high degree of trust and co-operation between husband and wife.

*159 434 454 [511] At Easter, 1958, Ġamri spoke of a balance of some £400, less than half his reserves of a year previously. The drop was due to a £200 outlay on pigs and pig-sties together with several smaller items (such as £50 for street surfacing, £30 for a sewing machine, £15 hospital expenses, £30 for annual field rents, etc.) and the cost of repairing the damage wrought by the exceptionally heavy storms of late 1957. During the year 1956-57 it is estimated that Ġamri's income was about £350. £250 of this came from the sale of field produce as shown below, the rest is an estimate of income from pig sales and other items.

*159 434

Income:	From partnership land.	From Ġamri's Land	TOTAL
Fruit.....	£340	-	£340
Grapes.....	49	£ 8	57
Sulla.....	13	15	28
Potatoes.....	12	-	12
Melons.....	11	-	11
Tomatoes.....	7	13	20
Totals.....	£432	£36	£468
Ġamri's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 434 435 This income pattern is by no means standard from year to year. The 1956-57 season was a poor year, with potato prices to the farmer low, sulla yields below average and a glut of fruit. 1953, on the other hand, was the best of recent years and brought each of the two brothers an income of £310 on fruit alone. The 1956-57 season with its glut in fruit found a quantity greater than in 1953 bringing less return than in that year on the market. This uncertainty as to income between one year and the next is today more important to the arable farmer than to the herdsmen who can rely on the M.M.U.'s guaranteed price and can therefore estimate his income more [454] accurately. The arable, and, especially, the fruit-farmer

159 434 454 is not encouraged by this situation to invest his capital in any improvement for which no immediate return is apparent. Ġamri has, however, put a large amount of money into pigs and would seem to regard this as a better investment than putting his money into capital equipment for his fields. He has in [407] fact no mechanical equipment, although his brother has a rotary cultivator which Ġamri hires at a reduced rate of 16/- per tomna (instead of £1) for his own holding. No charge is made when the machine is used on the joint holding, in which case Ġamri contributes to the cost of fuel.

159 511 262 Expenses within the household are difficult to determine since so much of the food eaten by the family comes from the fields worked by Ġamri and his brother. This includes vegetables, fruit, salads, melons. Tomato paste (kunserva), a common element of diet throughout Malta, is home-made in this case. The two goats and two sheep supply the family with milk; though tinned milk is normally bought in for babies as required. Milk pasteurized by the M.M.U. is not bought. They occasionally buy in a little cheese, but most of this, and all eggs, are produced on the farm. Fish is caught from time to time by Ġamri himself, but some, such as tinned tuna, is bought. Poultry and rabbits for the family table are from the farm stock but some small birds, such as quail, are shot ('hunted') for roasting or stews. A home-made wine is supplemented with purchased soft drinks, notably the ubiquitous "Kinnie". Other items purchased include meat and ham, coffee, jams, biscuits and luxury confectionery (for special days such as first Communions, Confirmation, etc), olive oil and olives, together with the rationed goods (1958) -butter, bread, sugar and farinaceous paste (għaġin). Ġamri observes that the rationed (subsidized) supplies are usually insufficient for the family so additional quantities of these items have to be bought. In the case of bread, for example, these more costly off-the-ration purchases bring [354] the total weekly bill to some thirteen shillings. The sole means of cooking and heating is paraffin (petrolju), as throughout most of the rural areas of the Islands, and the family spends about 3s 6d weekly on this. Heating is not considered essential even during the coldest part of the winter when the family "close the door" (Ġamri).

159 262 [369] The diet of the family is essentially typical of rural Malta. In some details this differs from that found among urban working classes in the Islands but these differences are of emphasis rather than content. Thus the countryman tends to consume potatoes, the produce of his own farm, where the townsman relies for the bulk element of his diet [785] on paste, notably Italian spaghetti and macaroni. An important factor is religion and its fasting and other restrictions. Fasts are of three types (i) the Lenten Fast - "In the old

*159 262 785 days people fasted full forty days" (Ġamri); (ii) the Friday Fast - it is forbidden to eat meat on Fridays and preferable to avoid it on Wednesdays also; and (iii) Special Fasts. These include the 'Change of Season' fasts and a variety of Saints' Days, special personal observances and certain occasional fasts designated by the Church authorities. The emphasis is on self-denial in all fasts. Meat, confectionary and 'extra' items are strictly avoided, and the quantity of permitted foods is also reduced. Nothing is eaten between thefrugal meals.

*159 262 264 The timing of meals throughout the day is variable in Ġamri's family. Rarely does he sit down to table with his wife and children, whose routine has to accommodate school time-tables, etc. On non-fast days breakfast consists of bread and coffee. Lunch is taken about noon - or an hour or so earlier on fast-days. If he is working in the fields Ġamri may have a loaf of bread, with oil, cheese, figs, olives, chickpeas and corn beef or some fish, or some cooked meal may be brought out to him by one of the women or girls. Sweet black coffee or home-made wine are the staple drinks, and the meal is normally followed by a siesta of at least one hour. The time of the evening meal depends on the nature and pressure of work in hand and consists of a stew (especially where the lunch had been a cold meal in the fields). [261] At all times food is used carefully. It is never wasted. Even produce of the farm such as eggs are "only given to the boys occasionally" (Ġamri).

198 291 443 [432] [441] The proportion of food purchased is now much greater than even a generation ago in this type of family. The same is true of clothing. Clothing has changed very considerably both in style and variety since Ġamri's father was a young farmer when half the people in the village had looms and many had spinning wheels to produce cotton garments for the family or other villagers. The old style of dress of the farmer consisted of knee-length, white cotton trousers, a thick woollen vest, waistcoat and cummerbund. The locally produced sheep's wool vest has been largely replaced by army surplus types of shirts. Garments of Maltese cotton and wool are now rarely seen except on the oldest men, who have been wearing them since they were much younger. The use of army surplus clothing has become very common since 1945 and the travelling drapers' vans, local shops and the Sunday markets (Valletta and Rabat) now do a considerable trade in both made up garments and materials of this type.

291 369 178 With the increasing contact between town and country the farmer has come to want smarter suits for his brief leisure hours. The younger generation of countryfolk no longer venture to the capital unless they are dressed like townsmen - suit, tie, shoes and so on. This increase in the

This increase in the

178 range of demands along with the near disappearance of home-
291 produced garments has therefore required a much enlarged
[511] financial outlay on this part of the family budget. The
villager now often takes a special pride in the clothing of
his children, both the infants and those attending school.
[871] The compulsory attendance at school throughout the Islands
[702] has made the countryman more clothes-conscious, while the War
of 1939-45 and the conscription which it brought put some men
into shoes (or boots) for the first time and demanded that
they be dressed to a rather higher standard than had been
their practice before.

* Work and Labour

159 As seen, Ġamri's normal labour force consists
241 of himself, his brother and nephew. His own children being
461 all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little.
[464] This trio apportioned their time, during the agricultural
year 1956-57 when a detailed study was made, as under:

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce

(i) on the joint holding	- fruit.....	1740	man/hours
	- vines.....	489	" "
	- cereals & fodder...	1437	" "
	- potatoes...	868	" "
	- other vegetables...	505	" "
(ii) on Ġamri's own holding	- vines....	444	" "
	- cereals & fodders..	222	" "
	- vegetables	65	
(b) Other work connected with holding.....		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage.....		160	" "
(d) Building of pig-sties.....		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous.....		677	" "
		6816	man/hours

In short, a total of 6818 man/hours was applied to about 62 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 110 man/hours per tomna. The above data are based on a daily work record kept by the farmer during the agricultural year 1956-57. The material may also be analysed on the basis of his calendar of activity on the farm for the year (Summary, E), and may be compared with a parallel work-analysis for two other farmers who provided a similar diary of their movements. Whereas Ġamri is an arable- and fruit-farmer, working largely dry (baghli) fields and terraces, the other two examples chosen for comparative purposes include a man whose farm nucleus is a large and fertile irrigable (saqwi) block (Case XI) and one who is a herdsman with fields producing fodder for his goats together with some vegetables for sale and for family use (Case II).

000 In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of

In the first two cases the seasonal distribution of activity reflects the major points of contrast between the 'dry' and 'irrigated' operator. The herdsman stands in contrast to both of these with the care of his animals occupying a large part of every day of the year - even including Sundays and festa days when the field-working farmer expects to be off duty.

Ġamri and farming

Ġamri is a highly intelligent man in his forties who by his own efforts has progressed well beyond the limits of his very elementary formal education. He reads the Maltese-language daily 'Il-Berqa' (B/55) and keeps abreast of the school work of his children whom he encourages to learn English thoroughly as "the land cannot be divided among them all". English language is synonomous with education in his thinking, and education, in turn, he sees as the means of escape from the lowly position of the farmer in Maltese society. "We are but an Arab breed", he observes somewhat ashamedly. He himself has "little faith in the Government - which should help us". Much of this attitude had its roots in the War years of 1939-45 when the siege and food shortages produced something of a Golden Age for the food-producer. The farmer has not forgotten the £10 offered by the Government for 1 cwt of potatoes. Since the return to peace-time conditions the economic position of the farmer has certainly deteriorated rapidly with the depletion in his reserves, built up during hostilities, and the rise in labour costs and in the cost of living. During the War "the farmer was not so hungry as the townsman who had to rely on the black market"; now his position is one of a constant battle with rising costs. Ġamri, as an arable farmer, lacks the steady and guaranteed income of the milk-producing herdsman. His recent moves towards pig-meat production represent an attempt to get into an apparently more profitable line.

His nephew and many other farmers, though not Ġamri himself, make the mistake of failing to distinguish between the Church and the Government in their attitude to "the authorities". Thus the nephew regards the Catholic Action movement (of which he is an active member) as somehow "helping to run the country". But even Ġamri himself thinks that the Social Action Movement (another part of the Church's Lay Apostolate) must have some part in the secular administration of the country for he believes that an application for relief for storm damage made, through the Parish Priest, to that Movement amounts to an approach to the 'Gvern' (Government) of which he is so full of criticism. The case illustrates a point made elsewhere that the Maltese farmer is still primarily village-conscious. Clearly this is not to deny, however, that his horizon today is much wider than was the case when his father regarded

159 Valletta as a mysterious other-world to be entered cautiously
829 and very occasionally by the humble and bare-foot farmer.
181 Ġamri is typical of the section of the farming community
178 in Malta and Gozo which has absorbed an education beyond anything in previous generations but whose age prevents them taking the lead into any kind of Maltese farming reconciled with current social, economic and technical changes. He is "too old now to move from farming", but he is encouraging his children to acquire the education which will help them to escape from the land altogether.

CASE X : Summary.

159 (An arable farmer (Ġ) in partnership with his brother and
423 engaged in diversified production.)
(Details refer to Ġ alone unless otherwise indicated.)

427 A. Land.

- Ġ has an interest in 17 plots totalling 62.5 tmien; of this, 53 tmien is rented by the partnership.
- One large plot of 21.5 tmien, the remainder ranging from 1.0 to 8.0 tmien.
- All within an area of c.1 sq. mile in the Binġemma Basin and in Ġnejna, on a variety of soils, mainly Terra Rossa and Carbonate Raw Soils.
- 41.0 tmien owned by private landlords, 9.6 by the Church, 6 tmien by the Government, and 3.2 by Ġ's father.
- Rent approx. £30 p.a. varying from 8/- to 14/- per tomna.

159 B. Utilisation.
241

- The full range of crops grown in a complete year (1957-8) is shown in Table 6 (WORK ANALYSIS).
- In summary:

Fruit and vines	20.9	tmien
Cereals and fodders	17.9	"
Potatoes	6.2	"
Other vegetables	4.9	"
Fallow or unproductive or lot 'bin-nofs'.	12.6	"
	62.5	tmien

159 C. Livestock.
231

- Relatively unimportant in early 1957, but a herd of pigs is being built up and in 1958 numbered five sows and their litters.
- One mule.
- 2 goats, 2 sheep; milk is purchased as these do not supply family's needs.
- 2 dozen hens, rabbits.

159 D. Capital.
423

(i) - No freehold land apart from one small patch of roadside waste.

454 (ii) - Recent investment in the construction of pig-sties.

(iii) - Cash reserve of £400 in April 1958 represents a reduction of 50% on reserve held a year previously; £200 spent on building up pig herd and accommodation for same; remainder covered deficit on year's farming and special expenses e.g. road surfacing, hospital expenses etc. Ġ expects to build up his cash reserve again in ensuing years.

159 (iv) - Equipment:
409 - Usual hand tools, cart, etc.
427 - Ġ owns no mechanical equipment but his brother's rotary cultivator is used on the joint holding, Ġ

159 407 427

paying his share of petrol and oil but making no payment for use of the machine. When used on Ô's personal holding, a charge of 16/- per tomna was made, compared with normal charge to outsiders of c.£1 per tomna.

- 4 yearly deep plowing by contractor at 25/- per tomna.

E. Labour.

*159 464

- Ô's 8 children all below school-leaving age contribute relatively little. His brother, however, has 3 sons working with him and his family provides more than half the labour on the joint holding.
- Flexible use of this labour force as:

(a) Joint holding worked by partners and Ô's nephew.
(b) Land held by Ô, deriving from wife's family, farmed by Ô and eldest nephew.
(c) Land held by Ô's brother, deriving from his wife's family, farmed by himself and his two younger sons.

*159 461

- A detailed work schedule was kept for the agricultural year 1957-8: see Table 6 - WORK ANALYSIS.

(a) Work on crop land, including cultivation, manuring, sowing, irrigation, crop protection, harvesting and transport of produce:-

(i) On joint holding:	Fruit	1740	man hours
	Vines	489	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	1437	" "
	Potatoes	868	" "
	Other vegetables	505	" "
(ii) On Ô's own holding	Vines	444	" "
	Cereals & Fodders	222	" "
	Vegetables	65	" "
(b) Other work connecting with holding		109	" "
(c) Repair of storm damage		160	" "
(d) Building of pig sties		100	" "
(e) Miscellaneous		677	" "
	Total	6816	" "

In short a total of 6816 man hours is applied to c.60 tmien of land (excluding contractors' plowing etc.) an average of 113 man hours per tomna.

*159 434 241

F. Production and Sales.

(1) - Details of yields of individual crops not available, but cash income from sale of crops 1956-7 was as follows:-

	From partnership land	From Ô's land	Total.
Fruit	£340	-	£340
Grapes	£ 49	£ 8	£ 57
Sulla	£ 13	£15	£ 28
Potatoes	£ 12	-	£ 12
Melons	£ 11	-	£ 11
Tomatoes	£ 7 (est.)	£13	£ 20
Totals	£432	£36	£468
Ô's share	£216	£36	£252

*159 241 433 434

- This represents a poor year; potatoes prices low, sulla yields below average, glut of fruit.
- Yields and income vary greatly from one field to another. Valuing the proportion of the crop retained at same level as that sold, e.g. sulla yielded from ££.10.0 to £15 per tomna, fruit £28 per tomna,

159 241 434 433

tomatoes £18.10.0 and grapes from £8 to £18.

- Measured yields include:-

Grapes:	4.2 tmien	11.4 qnatar
Winter sown potatoes (irrigated):	2.0 tmien	6.8 qnatar
Autumn sown potatoes (dry):	3.3 tmien	7.6 qnatar
Green beans in pod:	1.5 tmien	600 rtal
Wheat (threshed):	6.7 tmien	31.5 tmien
Sulla:	1.0 tomna	13 hmiel
	1.0 tomna	20 hmiel
	3.0 tmien	10 hmiel
Vetches:	0.7 tomna	6.5 hmiel
	2.0 tomna	7.0 hmiel

- Thus, comparing these figures with figures for labour applied, cash receipts per man-day were £2 for fruit, £1.10.0 for grapes and £1 for sulla. Were labour applied to be costed at prevailing rates of 20/- to 25/- per man-day, a large loss on the year's working would result.

*159 241 433 (2) A large proportion of the produce is retained for consumption by the family and by its small number of stock. In 1956/7 one quarter of joint holding and one third of O's own land produced entirely for home consumption.

*159 241 9. Husbandry.

(1)- Rotations not strictly adhered to, but common sequences are:
(a) on good land
1st Yr: Manuring followed by potatoes or by winter fallow and summer crop (tomatoes or melons).
2nd Yr: Potatoes or tomatoes.
3rd Yr: Sulla.
4th Yr: Wheat.
(b) on poorer dry land an alternation of sulla or vetches with cereals.
(c) best irrigated land may carry 2 crops of potatoes in each of several successive years but more usually tomatoes or melons follow winter-sown potatoes and autumn-sown potatoes are then omitted.
(d) fields may be irrigated in alternate years only, with dry land crops (cereals, beans, onions) in non-irrigated years.

(2)- Common cultivation methods:
(a) Vines: land worked 3 times with tined hoes during late winter and early spring. Ammonium sulphate worked in during second cultivation.
(b) Tomatoes: surface scattering of manure followed by deep plowing (summer). Worked four times with wooden plow in winter and subsequently reduced to fine tilth with hoe before planting seedlings.
(c) Wheat: land worked twice with wooden plow in October, seed scattered broadcast and plowed in immediately.
(d) Melons: land worked six times during autumn, winter and early spring, four times with wooden plow, twice with rotary cultivator. Seed sown and watered in early April.
(e) Beans: land deep-plowed during summer and worked twice with wooden plow. Hoed during planting.

(3)- Seeds. Average rates of application:-
(a) Sulla (new crop) c.10 tmien (weight) per tomna of land, seed obtained from previous year's crop.
(b) Wheat and barley 4 sighan (weight) per tomna, generally from previous crop but may be purchased at c.3/- per sighan.
(c) Beans. 1 tomna (weight) per tomna of land.
(d) Potatoes are the only seed regularly purchased, Arran Banner and other Scottish varieties bought (v. after Table 6)

[Text continues on P.124]

[P. 122]

*159
46
24
221

TABLE 6.

CASE X : WORK ANALYSIS, 1957-58

ACTIVITY	AUG. AM	AUG. PM	SEPT. AM	SEPT. PM	OCT. AM	OCT. PM	NOV. AM	NOV. PM	DEC. AM	DEC. PM	JAN. AM	JAN. PM	FEB. AM	FEB. PM	MAR. AM	MAR. PM	APR. AM	APR. PM	MAY AM	MAY PM	JUNE AM	JUNE PM	JULY AM	JULY PM	YEAR AM	YEAR PM
A NON-FIELD WORK																										
Sundays, Feasts(1)	5	4½	5	4	4	4	6	6	8	8	6	6	5	5	6	6	4	4	6	6	7	5	4	4	64	64½
To Valletta or Kasta			1						1	1	2½		1		1										6½	1
Ill-health and resting	½		½	½		1	1											1						1	2	3½
Too wet for field-work(2)					10½	8½	9	13	3	6	4	5	1	3	2	2	2½	1							32	38½
Too cold for field-work									1																1	
Pigs needing attention															1	1									1	1
Shooting birds			1				1½																		2½	
Repairing Storm Damage(2)										1					3	2									3	3
Other building Work(3)	1		½		4	5	4½	3	3	1½								2							13	8½
Implement maintainance												1				1										2
B FIELD WORK																										
Irrigating	1	11		5											1½	1½		4	2	5	2	11		11	6½	48½
Plowing, working(3)	1½		2		4½	6½	1	2½	1	2			7	4	2	2	6½	3							25½	20
Manure; refuse	2	1½	½															1			1½	1½	8	3	12	7
Threshing (grain & silla)			½																2	2	½	2	1½		4½	4
Transporting produce	1½	3	3½	2½	3	2	1			½											4	2	1	4	14	14
Sulphate spreading									1		1				½										2½	
Spraying(4)																1										1
"Among the trees" (general)(5)								1	1		2	2	7	5	8	7	3	2½	2						23	17½
APPLES(5): GATHERING	7	5																			2		14½	4½	23½	9½
" : "GOUGING"(6)	3½	4	7	11	1																				11½	15
VINES: GRAFTING											5½	5	1	1											6½	6
PRUNING											2½	3	2	2											5½	5
PICKING	1		4	2½																					5	3½
Making Wine			½	1																					½	1
TOMATOES: PLANTING																1		2		1						4
PICKING	½		1		1	1																			2½	1

continued.

*159
1691
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422

(Case X Table continued)

ACTIVITY		AUG. AF	AUG. PF	SEPT. AF	SEPT. PF	OCT. AF	OCT. PF	NOV. AF	NOV. PF	DEC. AF	DEC. PF	JAN. AF	JAN. PF	FEB. AF	FEB. PF	MAR. AF	MAR. PF	APR. AF	APR. PF	MAY AF	MAY PF	JUNE AF	JUNE PF	JULY AF	JULY PF	YEAR AF	YEAR PF
POTATOES:	SOWING			1	1					1		6½	7	2	3											8½	11
	LIFTING							1		5	4									7	5			½	1½	13½	10½
BARLEY:	SOWING					2	2	1	1																	3	3
	REAPING																			1	1					1	1
WHEAT:	SOWING							3	2½	1	1															4	3½
	REAPING																			4	2	6	2			10	4
GATHERING ROUGH GREENSTUFF(7)								1		2		1		2	5	4½	2	3								4	10½
BEANS:	SOWING					1		1		4	2	1	1													7	3
	CUTTING															1		2	1½	2	1					5	2½
HAY:	SOWING																							½	1	½	1
	REAPING																	6	1½	3	2					9	3½
	BINDING																		1			½	½			½	1½
OTHER FIELD WORK		6½	2	2	1½					3	2					1		4	1½	6		5½	5	½	1	22½	10
OTHER WORK - UNSPECIFIED																4	2			2	1	1½	2			7½	5
		31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31	30	30	31	31	30	30	31	31	365	365

(1) And other Church visits.
(2) The latter part of 1957 saw exceptionally heavy rain in Malta.
(3) Including weeding, hoeing, etc.
(4) A new venture - in conjunction with Dept. of Agriculture.
(5) Largely apple orchard, in Gozo.
(6) A laborious process of removing larva from apple-tree trunks - with penknife and piece of wire.
(7) I.e. "Hamix" - including a variety of grasses, 'inglis', and other greenery - for animal fodder.
(8) And "odd jobs" in the house.

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 E226 Malta E226

*159 241

for January planting at 3-4 cwt. per tomna.
Seed from crop used for sowing in following autumn.

(4) - Manure.

- Mixed urban refuse and animal manure plowed in to 12-18 inches.
- One field of 2 tmien received 1 truck load refuse and 30 sacks dry manure.
- One field of 1.5 tmien received 50 sacks of animal manure from G's stock.
- Vines receive c. ½ cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna almost every year.
- Wheat receives from ½ to 1 cwt. artificial fertiliser per tomna per year, broadcast with the seed.

H. General.

*159 [402] [423] [464] [178]

- Partnership has prevented excessive fragmentation of father's land.
- Free exchange of labour allows G to maintain a relatively large holding despite the inability of his young children to assist him. If these children wish to continue in farming, pressure on land will result.
- G therefore encourages his children in their education with a view to emigration and/or employment outside farming.

[435] [451] [461] [157]

- G has no real idea of costing of his production. Can give details of income and expenditure, but makes no allowance for enormous application of labour (see E) necessary for very modest income (see F).
- Willing to undertake still more labour (e.g. in spraying fruit trees) to avoid cash expenditure.
- All this despite the fact that G is well above average in intelligence and standard of education.
- Conservative in techniques and attitudes but eager to invest in proven successes (e.g. extension of vines and apple orchards, development of pig-farming). However, markets may already be glutted.
- With clear, patient, reasoned and disinterested advice and encouragement, G could probably much improve his methods and yields to make his holding a more profitable enterprise.

*159 423

CASE XI : Pietru (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

The nucleus of Pietru's farm is a block of 14 irrigable tmien on which he spends the greater part of his time. His home is about a mile away in the village and he also holds a large number of patches of dry (baghli) land scattered over the northern part of Malta. The more outlying of these dry fields have tended to be neglected, or left to Pietru's wife and family to work, while he has concentrated on building up and developing his irrigable holding. His father bought four of these irrigable tmien after the 1914-18 War although at that time the area was covered with concrete. This was laboriously removed and irrigation channels ('canali') installed. Other adjacent patches were acquired as they became available - Pietru himself acquiring the latest addition in 1954. He had taken over from his father some years previously although he had started his working life as a mason.

*159 241 464

Today Pietru, his son, wife and daughters cultivate the 14 tmien very intensively. The suggestion of a pathway is rejected because "it would take up too much irrigable land".

*159 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes,
24 artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa bagħli), and a variety
31 of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-house also manage to find space in odd corners. Two machine-
[406] driven pumps and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete
[343] the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered
[134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his
241 interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a
433 greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields
434 which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to culti-
829 vate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able
[641] to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the lack of adequate remuneration. His attitutde is to 'make the most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a
[474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative (Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having the money than letting the Government get it. This belief that the Government is behind everything is characteristic (Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is
178 faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on
241 the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards. Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case among many of his generation and it may be that he will have difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to
[472] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist
[654] the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

CASE XI : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

A. Land.

423 (i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields
429 in Mallieha District. 2 tmien freehold.

(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.

(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.

(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced an annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 B. Utilisation. With parcels of land so dispersed and so
241 variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons, Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.

(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 C. Livestock. During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are
231 only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 D. Capital.

[423] - 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and
[435] freehold house in the village.
[454] - No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E. Estimated possible total less than £100.
[406] - Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464] - Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.

[474] - A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section
[241] 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-ploughing: shallow-ploughing at 10s per tomna and deep-ploughing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.

[464] - Rarely hires labour.

[467] - An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

TABLE 7

	July[f] 57		Oct 57		Nov 57		Dec 57		Jan 58		Feb 58		May 57	
	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm	am.	pm
Sundays, Festas	4	4	4	4	6	6	7	7	8	8	5	5	7	7
Business, Valletta	.	.	.	.	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Repairs fields & buildings (storm)	.	.	2	4[1]	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No work (storm)	.	.	7	7[g]	6	3	3	3	8	7	2	2	.	.
Irrigation	8	6[j]	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8	6[j]
Plowing	3	2	5	3	.	.	.	.	3	3	1	1	2	2
Planting, sowing	.	.	4	3	6	6	12	11[e]	7	8[h]	4	1	7	2
Working, etc.	5	3	4	2	3	5	1	2	4	4	5	3	.	3
Cutting, reaping	8	8[d]	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	3
Lifting potatoes	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3[k]	3	5[i]
Threshing	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Loading, transporting	2	1	1	1	.	.	3	3	.	2	.	1	.	2
Vines, prune, graft	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6	7	.	.
Collecting herbs[c]	1	1	1	4	5	5	3	4	1	.	.	3	.	2
Collecting seaweed			.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
	31	31	31	31	30	30	31	31	31	31	28	28	31	31

Notes

a. silt potatoes.
b. potatoes 3.5.
c. manuring, weeding, dressing, spraying, manuring, hoeing, etc.
d. wheat and barley 4.2.
e. Saxix - general greenery for animal fodder.
f. data for other months not available.
g. the latter part of 1957 saw exceptional storms in Malta & Gozo.
h. the winter crop a month late on account of damp conditions.
i. the spring crop.
j. irrigation in dry months.
k. Saxix gathering peak after 2 months of rain.
l. including 2.2 attending to animals (too wet to work fields).

E. Production and Sales.

(1) Main cash-crop irrigated potatoes - Arran Banner. Two crops - winter and 'early' crop, the latter for export. Yields vary considerably in spite of irrigation - winter crop 1956 double the quantity of the winter crop 1957. Soil conditions for cultivation and for germination can vary critically between November and February. Prices similarly vary considerably. 1956 - maximum price obtained 30/- per qantar. 1957 - April maximum price obtain 25/- per qantar. 1957 - May maximum price obtained 15/- per qantar.

(ii) Tomatoes. Pickings from May to October with peak production in July. Prices vary inversely with production (E/253). Irrigated local varieties only are grown. The best tomatoes are kept for seed, the next grade carefully selected for sale through 'pitkal' middleman for local market, the third grade sold to the tomato paste ('Kunserva') factory. Prices range from 10d. to 1/6d. per wizna, but vary with quantity available rather than with quality. Regarded as preferable to potatoes since the farmer believes they are less expensive to produce.

(iii) Artichokes. Irrigated perennials producing for up to about 8 years. Best marketing period is during Lent. Great efforts made to raise a crop early in

*159 433 435 February when prices start at c.9d a head rather then later in the year when they drop to c.4d a head.

(iv) A variety of other vegetable produce fruit and grapes are sold in small quantities.

(v) Stated cash income - £200 per annum. Regular income comes from arable products. Every two or three years sales of young heifers in calf bring in sizeable sums e.g. in 1958 one such Friesian heifer was sold for £170 and a 3 month old calf bought for £61.10.0.

G. Husbandry.

*159 241 (i) Land:

(a) Main concentration on maintaining high yields of vegetable crops on irrigated land, usually by heavy manuring rather than rotational farming. In 1956 - used all dung from own livestock.
- Purchased £100 worth of dung from an urban milk producer.
- Applied 25 bags Sulphate of ammonia @ 25/- to 27/6d a bag.
- Collected several cartloads of mixed refuse from Government centre.

Dung applied directly to cucurbits, but mixed with refuse and sulphate of ammonia otherwise.

(b) On non-irrigated land crop sequence usually cereal, leguminous fodder, potatoes, except on poorest land where vetches alternate with barley.

[461] (c) Irrigation takes much of labour-time and water is applied empirically. A typical early potato crop will be watered 13 times, each watering by channel-and-bed control taking 1½ days.

[242] (d) Chemical treatment of the crops is accepted but not understood. Since 1953 Chloride of Lime and Copper Sulphate sprays have been used but the farmer is not at all sure of why they should help - the sprays are applied "when the potatoes show a blackness". This exemplifies a general attitude that certain pests and diseases can be treated with one or another of the "medicines" but considerable mystery surrounds the methods of application and the processes concerned.

(ii) Seeds:
Relies entirely on seed plant strains except for potatoes. Is prepared periodically to buy Arran Banner seed-potatoes and in 1958 plucked up enough courage to try a new strain - Eigenheimer.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock:
Only interested in rearing heifers which are fed traditionally on a little grain, green fodder including "haxix", sulla, hay and beans.

H. General.

*159 24 433 435 [465] (i) An example of better kind of intensive market gardener. It is unlikely that without a complete re-organisation of his farming life any more irrigated land could be worked. At present casual labour costs of 15/- to 25/- a day, expansion of the labour force would be impossible. The only relatively simple economic improvement that could be made is the raising of quality standards and to a limited extent yields. In Malta there is no effective price differential between products of different quality, and the local market is very quickly saturated. This cultivator and others like him vaguely realise the predicament and pin their faith on minimum price guarantees, which in fact have little to do with the case.

*159 451 (ii) The farmers children keep rough accounts but only of the main items of disbursements and income. This is one of the few farmers who occasionally put a monetary value on his own labour. That of the family was taken for granted.

000 was taken for granted.
*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly on the ground that "it is not used here".

CASE XII : Censu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

*159 Censu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
557 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
241 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
234 village weighman is important both because of the extra in-
[463] come which it brings and on account of the social standing which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
[727] War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local standards and Censu and his small family enjoy comfortable living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation to which he added a further £1200. This money was put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
*159 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
234 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
434 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale.
241 In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted to fodder. This increased to 7/8 in the following winter but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
[451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders. This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent outlook of the farmer rather than to any anxiety to hide his accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the

*159 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the
829 district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows
178 further enhance his status. He maintains that within the
[554] village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was
[793] "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increas-
[626] ing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in
[177] the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in
[794] the towns. Census shares the still general view that money given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the
[651] community". Money paid to the Government in the form of taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

423 A. Land.
427 33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 B. Utilisation.
24 Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6½ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 C. Livestock.
23 Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calver,
234 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 D. Capital.
[423] - No freehold land. Owns large village house.
[454] - No statement as to capital reserves but general evi-
[407] dence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

E. Labour.
*159 - Family labour - one 30 year old son.
464 - In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and
[465] female to 90 days.
Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.14/- a day.
Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
[429] - Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and
[74] threshing machine each year. Costs of contract
[407] plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

F. Production and Sales.

*159 433 434 234 [292] (i) Cows milk sales range from December minimum of c.153 lbs. per day to April maximum of c.290 lbs. per day. Regards 3 gallon output per head a day as minimum profitable production. Milk receipts in 1957 c.£1350. (Costs of purchased fodder £1000).
- Goats milk sold for cheesemaking ('rikotta').
- About 20 gallons per annum of cows milk for cheese production.
- Practically no liquid milk drunk by family.

*159 24 [435] (ii) Potatoes - Winter Crop - September to December.
- 'Early' Crop - January to April.
Relies entirely on Arran Banner. Destination of crop depends on price e.g. Winter Crop 1956/57 sold at 23/4 per qantar for export. Winter Crop 1957/58 sold at 27/- per qantar for local market.

[433] - Usually produces c.50 qantar per annum and 4 or 5 used for domestic consumption.

[433] (iii) Onions produced for export and local market and for home consumption. Production fluctuates with climate - yields between extremes of 20 and 40 qantar per tomna.

(iv) - Small sales of vegetables - considerable range grown.
- Fodder production meets c.one-half requirements.

G. Husbandry.

(i) Land

(a) On best land typical sequence would be.

Sept. (a) Heavy manuring - 96 bags of dung and refuse per tomna.
Sept.-Dec. (b) Winter crop of potatoes.
Jan. (c) Artifical fertiliser - Sulphate of Ammonia 1 bag per tomna.
Jan.-April (d) Spring crop of potatoes.
May-Aug. (e) Summer fallow.
Sept.-April (f) Two crops of potatoes as (a) to (d).
May-Aug. (g) Onions - on watered land.
Sept.-May (h) Cultivation for and growing of wheat crop.
May-Aug. (i) Fallow.
Sept.-April (j) Sulla.

(b) More usual practice (which is not though of as a strict rotation) is local variation of four-year cycle.
- Manuring. Potatoes, Onions, Wheat, Sulla, Vetches and seed fodders such as Lorkra and ginglin are introduced into this basic scheme.

(c) On fields near house domestic vegetable crops, e.g. garlic, brassicas, pumpkins, and marrows.

(ii) Seeds
- Mainly relies on own seed but periodically buys seed-potatoes for maintaining standard of 'early' crop.

*159 232 (iii) Livestock - Breeds cattle from own stock but prepared to experiment e.g. interested in artificial insemination.
- Feeding. Has a fair idea of fodder needs of livestock but uses traditional combination of green legumes, sulla hay, beans and concentrates without measurement. Has started purchasing ready-mixed balanced feed.

H. General.

*159 433 451 (i) An example of the best type of cows' milk producer. Keeps rough accounts of expenditure and receipts from most of sales but even so does not think in terms of profit-income and does not compute family labour in monetary terms at all.

(ii) Is tending towards specialising in cattle-breeding and is inclined to doubt the value of the arable sector. Is typical of most of his class in that he keeps no accounts of fodder-production on his own

*159 423 451 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 134 241
- some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melà" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorôn tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 159 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159 241 434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 198 46 *[159] Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic [369] feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agri- [162] culture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (B/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

241 first stage in the move from the land and one expects it to
178 be succeeded, possibly in the following generation, by a com-
461 plete break with the land or the maintenance of a purely residual and casual interest, as in (d) above. In this
*[159] case, Toni continues to produce cash crops for sale but his sons when they return are not likely to do so. Thus this type of small scale part-time farming will have little or no importance in agriculture as a producing industry.

*159 Toni himself substantiates this view. "Farming has no
241 future in Malta since there is no money in it for the younger
178 generations, and so you can't expect people to go on working
829 fields if they can avoid it". He sees the farming population as a depressed class and attributes this in large part to the fact that "The farmers count for only 12,000 votes at election times". Unions are, for Toni, "no use for the farmer and his problems" because, it appears, of suspicion and ignorance. He further observes that "the Maltese farmer grumbles easily - because of the same factors. This is itself discouraging the younger farming generation from staying on the land and struggling against rising costs to sell products which are but feeble competitors against the imported article.

He remains dubious of the effects of even the present Government policy of assistance by both financial support in various forms and attempts to introduce more efficient methods and better adapted and therefore more profitable crops, etc.

CASE XIII : Summary.

*159 (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)
423 A. Land.
- 2 plots of irrigated land at il-Ghadira and il-Hofra both in the Mellieha Isthmus area.
- Several plots of dry land, usually held idle for relatives who are expected to return from Canada.
[427] - Soils: i-Iklin complex.
- Rented from Civil Government and War Department.

*159 B. Utilisation.
[241]
- Irrigated plots carry potatoes, tomatoes and vines with a great variety of vegetables.
- Dry land: potatoes, tomatoes, beans, sulla, onions, herbs for home consumption.

[231] C. Livestock. 60 or 70 rabbits, 1 sheep.

*159 D. Capital.
454 - No freehold land, but owns a house in the village.
422 - Usual hand tools.
- Spray and rotary cultivator recently acquired.
423 - Financial position not disclosed but appears to have considerable reserves.
- Owns a car.
- Son owns motor lorry sometimes used on holding.

*159 E. Labour.
464 - Some help from wife and daughter but remainder of family have either emigrated or entered non-agricultural employment in Malta.
[465] - Formerly hired a labourer at £5 per week but he left for the Dockyard in 1955. In 1958 it was difficult

*159 [464] to find farm labourers even at 25 to 30/- a day.
- Occasional hired help at harvest time.

F. Production and Sales.

[434] - Main profit from tomatoes, grapes and potatoes. Subsidiary income from vegetables.
[433] - Attempts to space out production and sales by using
[251] many different varieties and storing, e.g. potatoes until prices are high.

G. Husbandry.

*159 (i) - Potatoes: three crops annually on best land.
241 - Artichokes: replanted every 4 years.
43 - Tomatoes: seed beds attached to irrigated plots carry many varieties.
- Melons: has experimented successfully with seed sent by relative in Canada.
- Cauliflowers: 4 crops between August and March, earliest sold before heads are formed.
(ii) - Manure brought from Luqa: 4 truckloads - £22 plus £8 for carriage will last one year.
Also uses town refuse.
- Copper sulphate spray for potatoes, paraffin spray as weed killer.
(iii) - Has recently added to holding by reclamation of wasteland. Constructed a 2-tmion field, soil for which cost £150 (20 truckloads) and transport £50. This field returned £60 worth of potatoes in first year, £35 of tomatoes in the second. In autumn 1957 was preparing to repeat the process.
(iv) - Irrigated land rested under sulla every fourth year.

H. General.

*159 An unusually proficient part-timer cushioned by income
242 from position as camp caretaker (£5.12.0 per week when camp
[463] not fully occupied). His job appears to leave him plenty of
[465] time to devote to his holding. He is willing to experiment and take risks, though experiments are concealed from his neighbours until proved successful. Has a lively appreciation of how to obtain best returns from his produce; very much au fait with market conditions.

*159 Keeps fairly careful accounts and, according to his own
434 statements, makes a profit of £250 p.a. from farming:
[451]

Receipts from produce	£450
Labour costs	£ 50
Seeds, manure, transport	£150
Profit	£250

Value of produce consumed by family £30.

His two jobs have made him appreciably more prosperous than his neighbours. Without the subsidiary income from caretaking his financial position would be extremely pre-
[454] carious. As it is he is able to amass a considerable capital reserve.

*159 PART 2. Heavy Tractors and Maltese Farming.
157
829

CASE XIV : Ganni (A young, progressive contract-plowman, with heavy tractors and other mechanized equipment.)

Ganni is a bachelor in his late twenties. In most respects he is quite atypical of Maltese farmers today but his work and attitudes illustrate most vividly the economic, technical and social problems facing agriculture and the rural community in Malta.

His youth, his knowledge of written and spoken English, his first hand acquaintance with Australia, the United Kingdome, Italy and other countries, his belief in mechanization as the way to make money in Maltese farming, his social

*159 59 50 829 rejection of his village background, and his attitude to agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 423 167 177 241 441 He comes of a village family in which his father and paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family butchering business held no more attraction for them and was relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 177 241 407 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities. Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plowing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few young men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 241 829 Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.

"Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and because of the difficulties facing the mechanization of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

*159 241 829 of these problems is without solution and he puts a great part of the blame on the Maltese farmer himself who is prevented says G by his illiteracy and suspicion from uniting and from seeking to improve his own farming. He maintains that it is possible to make money in farming today in the Islands, but only with the right methods, ideas and facilities. This is where he himself comes in, for he believes his ideas on mechanization are the answer, leading to the elimination of hand labour as far as possible. He insists that a profitable farm must be a workable unit, that is a large patch of twenty, forty or more tmies capable of being worked by mechanical implements. Moreover, he insists that the farmer should, where possible, sell his own produce to the consumer in order to evade the 'middle-men' and thereby make a greater profit.

Ġanni himself talks vaguely of acquiring such a farm, although to date his contract-plowing has absorbed all his profit-making energies.

Ġanni's view of the farmer in Malta.

He lays a great deal of the blame for the present agricultural difficulties at the door of the farmers themselves. His view of his fellow farmers and villagers approaches cynicism: "The farmer's illiteracy prevents him from admitting that anything could be better than that which he knows. It also prevents him from trusting other farmers and prevents him from realizing the folly of putting bad-weight with produce for export. The young people who are far from illiterate and will listen to reason are not staying on the land long enough for this to be of lasting benefit to agriculture". He observes that the farmer is keen for a sure profit but NOT at all anxious to plunge his often considerable capital into [178] a new venture such as buying a tractor. In fact he will not accept any new method or crop before he sees it a working success - preferably in a field near his own. This applied particularly to the 'outlandish' ideas on deep-plowing which Ġanni brought back from Australia. His fellow villagers regarded his 16" mould-board, three-furrow plows with great suspicion, and his ideas on potato-ridging, combine-harvesting and threshing met with no more approval initially.

[454] Ġanni insists that the farmer's saving is merely "an aimless accumulation of money: a man may look poor in dress and have £1000 tucked away". He says of an old lady in a nearby lonely house "She wears no shoes and has never been to Valletta but will die leaving thousands".

181 241 829 This conservatism and reluctance on the part of the illiterate farmer emerges, therefore, as a major difficulty in the way of improvement and modification. It is one which tends to be overlooked by well-meaning experts and officials who forget that, unlike themselves, the farmer is unable to

181 241 829 road of successful experiments of one kind or another in a foreign land - he will only be satisfied with conclusive proof before his own eyes. Moreover the farmer often finds it hard to convince himself that some expert or high-ranking advisor on affairs agricultural can in fact be working for the benefit of the farmer and not himself. This is something new in his experience.

Mechanization.

* 159 407 422 427 472 Ġanni and his brother work their machinery contracting business together, doing all but the biggest repairs. They have (1958):

(i) a three-furrow (previously a two-furrow) mould-board plow, the only one in the district,

(ii) a triple disc-plow (originally a double) for heavy ground,

(iii) a rotavator. Originally the brothers had a small rotavator but they complain that this does no more than kill off the weeds for a short time and harden the soil just below the rotavated surface. In 1958 they were buying a 5' trailer with 4 revolving claws which met with much derision from local farmers because of its weight.

(iv) a three-ton truck,

(v) a twelve-tined harrow,

They are keen to add (1958) a thresher and a small combine harvester which "might work in Malta with effect". Ġanni would rather "import a combine than let £1000 lie idle in the bank, unlike most other farmers". "New machinery soon pays for itself and is the way to make money in Maltese agriculture today". He advocates tyred tractors for Maltese conditions as they are easier to get out of rough ground and more convenient to cope with road transit. Many farmers prefer the caterpillar-tracked type (v. Case XV). He maintains that the tyred tractor is better even for the deep-plowing which he advocates. This deep-plowing has grown in popularity only slowly - Ġanni is fully aware that "there may be drawbacks", but he reckons to work his four-month season each year to the full, earning about £5 per day on six days per week. The rest of the year is taken up with contract work with the machinery on building and other sites together with some attention to the few fields held by the family. The area covered by the brothers in their plowing operations extends to something like a quarter of the area of Malta (v. B/381).

Ġanni and the village.

* 159 152 Ġanni is an outsider in his own village in so far as his literacy, travel and, especially, his Australian experience and his 'new ideas' have put him socially out of touch with his fellow-villagers. He maintains enough of a link with the village (through his father) to be able to live there and

*159 156 461 626 517 493 make money, but he has little sympathy for the older people around him and they in their turn regard him as a social (as well as economic) rebel. He takes little part in the social life of the village. Work is his first concern and he is most annoyed when the priest, with whom he has "not been on speaking terms" since his return from Australia, forbids his working on Sundays. This includes even repair work on the machinery indoors. He knows well enough that were he to plow on Sundays or feats days he would be "publically ostracised and no villager would hire him and his plow". His relaxation is his motor-cycle on which he escapes at high speed from time to time along with others of his generation who "have eyes for the lights of Valletta rather than farming".

*159 156 593 Towards his own parents Ġanni's attitude is typical. He regards his father as belonging to the old generation of illiterate or semi-literate countryfolk, steeped in the conservatism of the past and the traditional. Father and son argue continuously over points of policy - with Ġanni tending to assume that his education and wider experience entitles him to something of a 'casting vote' in such arguments. Nevertheless the family tie is there and is strong enough for Ġanni to have an innate respect for his father despite the gulf in education and ideas. Thus Ġanni supported his father's scheme to plant some cotton even though he himself doubted the profitability of this move (1958).

*159 156 [583] Marriage in Malta, where the "evil dowry" ('data') system is maintained, holds little attraction for Ġanni. He observes that he cannot take a girl out on his motor-cycle without the older people of the village criticising him for not marrying her first. This and the whole social climate of village life in Malta of which it is part clashes with the ways he learned in Australia and with the ideas and beliefs which his education and his knowledge of the world outside the village of his birth have brought him.

Ġanni is primarily important to the village because he is staying there. He takes little part in village affairs, he does not "bother about festas", and he has few close [178] friends in his age group of farmers. But his ideas and the new methods and implements which he has brought to the village in face of considerable opposition and ridicule are a significant item in the changing scene of Maltese farming.

CASE XV

*159 472 467 Three brothers work together as a team. Their father works the land full-time and the brothers join him when their joint tractor-hire business is not claiming their attention. Their mechanical activities began some twenty-two years ago and now extend over more than a sixth of the area of Malta. They appear to have been among the first in the tractor

* 59 477 407 477 They appear to have been among the first in the Tractor 'business' and note that when they started there were only some half dozen large tractors already in use in Malta.

When the original tractor was imported along with a trailing plow it was found very difficult to negotiate the tortuous Maltese country tracks. They have since shortened the fitment and adapted it for carriage high above the ground in transit. Unlike CASE XIV these brothers maintain that the 'crawling' type of tractor is better suited to Maltese conditions than is the wheeled as it can cope more easily with rough ground and with mud.

Although they have no competitors in the immediate vicinity, they complain that:

(i) The introduction of the small hand rotary cultivator in recent years has caused a set-back in their business. It is clearly a less unwieldy implement for many small or narrow fields than is the large tractor and one which is cheap enough for a farmer to purchase fairly easily. However the brothers have increased the variety of special fitments which they can operate with their tractors and have thus to some extent retained their business.

(ii) There are at present too many large tractors for the work available. The brothers would be pleased if several of them would go out of business.

CASE XVI

Two brothers have three wheeled tractors, a threshing machine and two rotary cultivators. Holding only some three acres of land themselves they depend primarily on their tractor-hire business which they began, with a single tractor, shortly before the 1939-45 War. At present business is declining for the reasons mentioned in CASE XV. One of the brothers insists that the Government should prohibit the import of any more tractors into the Island in an effort to reduce the competition. As for rotary cultivators they observe that these implements can be used almost all the year round and are better suited for general cultivation work than is the tractor-drawn deep plow.

CASE XVII

A plowman with two large tractors (both 'caterpillar' tracked and one converted into a bulldozer), this Case illustrates some further points. He acquired his first machine early in the 1939-45 War and has built up his business so successfully that he now farms only a single acre himself relying for his income on the profits of the short plowing season and on his contract work throughout the year with his bull-dozer. His area of operation stretches from St. Paul's Bay in the north of Malta to Benghajsa in the extreme south, where he works for at least two full weeks per year. He also hires his threshing machine in widely scattered parts of the Island. This occupies him for some two months each summer. [429]

His major complaints are (i) the high price of diesel oil, and (ii) the fact that tractor operators are forbidden by law to drive their machines on public highways. On the question of 'over-lap' between contractors he wants the Government to delimate areas of operation for each man, an impracticable suggestion which would, he imagines, remove the necessity for his having to seek work at great distances from his village. His attitude on this point contrasts with his desire to import a new threshing machine as soon as possible.

CASE XVIII

In this case, a farmer works his tractor-hire business in conjunction with a friend. He bought a Chalmers tractor shortly before 1939 and has recently acquired a second machine - an Olivier. The area which he and his partner work with their tractors and 14" plow has become more limited of late on account of the increased use of rotary cultivators, especially as these are often user-owned.

159 He insists that the Government should stop imports of new
472 machines in face of the present decline in the demand for
407 contract deep-plowing. He sees himself and many farmer-
477 contractors like him going out of business in the near future.

CASE XII

This farmer (working 35 tmian, including seven irrigable) was among the first to acquire machinery in the 1930's. He [178] speaks of the slow start made in deep-plowing on account of the suspicion of most farmers who continued to use the mule or horse-drawn wooden plow exclusively for some years. Mechanized plowing is now fully accepted, he says, and, for the contracting plowman, is still a most profitable venture despite the present fierce competition for business.

CASE XX

159 Whereas CASE XIV-XIX have concerned plowing and threshing
407 contractors whose own fields are of secondary importance as a
241 source of income, this man is typical of the growing number of
434 farmers who see mechanization as the means whereby they themselves can cultivate a large holding. With his single tractor he cultivates some 35 tmien single handed and supplements his income from this holding by only a limited amount of contract-plowing in the summer season.

[245] He notes that a further reason for the decline in demand
[178] for the deep-plow on contract is the recent increase in the area under vines (due to the steady demand for wine-grapes by local vintners).

CASE XXI

159 This Gozitan is a part-time contract plowman whose main
256 occupation is not farming but baking. His father was a salt-
241 seller but this business went to a brother shortly before the
407 1939-45 War whereupon this man decided to go in for full-time
472 contract plowing and threshing. For many years he remained
[477] the sole such operator in his village and business grew. However in the present decade competition from new tractor operators has "halved the work available in the summer plowing season" for his plows and threshing machine. This prompted him to build a bakery in 1954 to which he has since devoted all his time. However the tractor and threshing machine are still retained and are worked by a son as the demand arises.

CASE XXII

159 Another Gozitan, this English-speaking and astute man is
441 not himself a contract plowman but is a dealer and agent for
472 tractors, rotary cultivators and other agricultural machinery.
407 His father began the import of tractors to the Island, but
[191] those were wheeled and soon found to be unsatisfactory for local conditions. The first 'crawling' tractor was introduced in 1939 and has since been found to be well suited to the steep paths and fields and the small plots in Gozo, especially in wet weather. Since 1951 the use of rotary cultivators has spread rapidly through the Island and has led to a sharp decline in the work available to the deep-plowing tractors. Of twelve of the latter at present in the Island some three or four are normally unused in the season. This agent speaks of an agreement among the tractor operators of Gozo to limit individual spheres of operation during the 1957 plowing season.

[178] Like CASE XIV this man has been prepared to introduce new implements. His father was the first to import motor pumps (1920), while he himself brought in the first cultivator in 1951. His latest idea has been the import of harvesting machines, but the very limited success of the first ten which he brought in has discouraged him from buying any more. He observes that the fields of Gozo are too small for mechanization on this scale and that the harvester leaves a lot of straw in the ground which the farmer insists must be collected for animal fodder.

[P.141]

*759 554 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an laternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14). [871]

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 829 [14] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command

can command.

There has, however, been material help to fishing in the form of financial assistance[51] and the introduction of a Fishing Equipment Supply Service (E/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture, that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fishermen live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi. Socially this residential distribution is important since only in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

As a class the fishermen and their families are economically lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same basis, and the average for the total population was lower still at 8.2%.

The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on the social scale. This, together with the generally depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite the present official financial assistance, is producing exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor the way of life based on it.

6:Bealey K-5 (1937-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

SECTION 7 : Bibliography

113 Published and documentary material relating to the Maltese Islands falls clearly into two categories:

(a) that concerning the Order of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem,

(b) that relating to the Islands themselves and to the Maltese people.

113 175 The two and a half centuries during which the Order had its headquarters in Malta (1530-1798) included the climacteric of its naval power in the Mediterranean struggle with Islam, and the greatest development of its sovereign position among the states of Europe. Historians continue to find, in these years, an apparently limitless field of research and the flow of published results of new or 'second-hand' work shows no signs of abating. This is not to say that the four centuries of the Order before 1530 and the years since 1798 have been overlooked but it underlines the importance of the period of rule in the Maltese Islands, to Europe as well as to the Order itself. The fact that the members of the Order came to be known as 'Knights of Malta' is a further indication of their association with the Islands.

By the good fortune of history many of the archives and original manuscript material of the Order, from its foundation to its expulsion from Malta by the French in 1798, are still preserved in the Royal Malta Library (B/16) or in smaller collections elsewhere. The Royal Malta Library with its large and partly unclassified collection remains a veritable mine of information to students of the Order and of the Islands which they ruled so tightly (B/26).

Since ancient times the Maltese Islands have received attention from foreign writers. In the eighteenth century the volume of this interest increased immensely. Itinerant gentlemen of leisure from Britain and the Continent wrote home their observations and produced 'accounts' and 'descriptions' of the Islands. This recording of "interesting facts" (B/19, p.xv) continued into the nineteenth century but broadened with the appearance of several large-scale works, the results of painstaking investigations (B/326, 455, 516, etc.).

The 159 years of British rule have seen the growth of the local Government Printing Office (now a section of the Department of Information) and the appearance of an increasing number of reports and papers, singly and in series. To these have been added the H.M.S.O. and other official items emanating from the United Kingdom. In recent years these sources have expanded rapidly in scope and volume as the policies and problems of the Islands have called for more observation, documentation and record.

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115 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the object of both propaganda and admiration.

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198 As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confirmed English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It had been a language of government for more than a century but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under the Order and had maintained its position during British nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of [204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for 1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (R/94 - 1920, p.333), 1933-34 (R/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (R/97 - 1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English.....	1	1	2	2
Italian.....	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese.....	-	-	2	2

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[212] Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly, or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this, it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant section of the population, generally the professional and business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistic

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

197 214 of Maltese, with its semitic sub-strata and immense Italian and other European accretions, have attracted much attention among students of comparative linguistics abroad.

The circulation of the Maltese daily "Il-Berqa" (B/55) reflects the position in the Islands, being limited to the working and rural classes. Many periodicals of a religious or occupational nature, or those produced by some towns and villages, now appear in Maltese; others are bi-lingual. 191 198 But a knowledge of English is now so widespread among the younger generation that one would expect it to consolidate its growing importance as the language of government, education and culture, with the use of written Maltese declining relatively - though growing in absolute terms with the extension of literacy.

197 538 113 247 Maltese language fiction and poetry exists today along with a great deal of religious writing. The present bibliography makes no attempt to cover this field although several of the Maltese writers concerned do appear in the general list (Part 8), while the principal store-houses of Maltese literature, the Royal Malta Library (B/16) and the Royal University (B/17), and others, are mentioned in Part 1. Neither is any systematic coverage attempted of the wealth of material concerning the Knights Hospitallers and their sojourn in Malta though some of the principal sources are included in Parts 2 and 8.

113 Maps, plans and charts of the Islands are not included. Many of the collections listed in Part 1 contain such items (B/1, 5, 6, 16, etc.), the Naval and Military authorities in the Islands have made surveys, maps and charts as required, while many private individuals have added to the list. Reference to the official 2" to one mile map (Geographical Section, General Staff, No.3859, War Office, 3rd Edition - 1953) is recommended at all points in the present volume. Sheet 1 covers Gozo and Comino and Sheet 2 Malta. For Malta, more detailed coverage is provided by the 6" (O.S.O.S., No.3852) and the 25" to the mile (O.S.O.S., No.3752) maps. A valuable land-use survey in Malta (1955) and Gozo (1957) have provided the Islands' first detailed coverage of this nature (B/5, 336, 337). Also valuable is the indexed and comprehensive 'Malta Street Guide' (B/489).

The bibliography which follows attempts only a very basic classification into eight sections

Part 1... List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands (B/1 - 17),

Part 2... List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects (B/18 - 52),

Part 3... Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals (B/53 - 85),

Part 4... Some almanacs, directories and year books (B/86 - 98),

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

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Part 5... List of Malta Government Departments and other official sources which have produced annual or other periodical reports during the past twenty-five years (B/99 - 163),

Part 6... List of Censuses and official Statistical Publications of a periodical rather than special nature 1800-1959 (B/164 - 181),

Part 7... List of some of the special reports produced by the United Kingdom and Malta Governments from time to time since 1800, classified into major subject divisions (B/182 - 278),

Part 8... General alphabetical list of books, articles and other items of a non-official nature, but including cross reference to some official reports where identification is thereby facilitated (B/279 - 664).

NOTE: Throughout this volume items to which reference is made are quoted by their number in the bibliography as B/12; or B/357, Vol.I; or B/83 (1957), p.65; etc.

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Other ABBREVIATIONS used include:

C.E.R.C.	H.M. Colonial Economic Research Committee.
Chev.....	Chevalier (a Knight of the Order of St. John).
Cmd.....	Command.
C.O.....	Colonial Office.
C.O.S.	Central Office of Statistics.
Dept.	Department.
E	English.
Ed	Editor.
esp	especially.
Govt.	Government.
G.P.O.	Government Printing Office (now Printing Section), Malta.
H.M.S.O.	London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
inc.	including.
I.	Italian.
L.....	Latin.
L.P.	Letters Patent.
M.	Maltese.
misc	miscellaneous.
MS, MSS	Manuscript, Manuscripts.
Order	The Order of Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press.
pub.	published.
R.A.I.	Royal Anthropological Institute.
R.C.I.	Royal Colonial Institute.
R.I.I.A.	Royal Institute of International Affairs.
S.E.A.	Agrarian Society - Malta (formerly Società Economico-Agraria).
S.G.M.	Scottish Geographical Magazine.
trans.	translated.
v.	see.
var.	various.
Vol.	Volume.
unpub.	unpublished.

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Part 1. List of some collections of material on the Maltese Islands.

(1) ARCHIEPISCOPAL CURIA, Malta : Collections of archives, MSS, documents, plans, etc., relating to the Church in Malta. (v. also Cathedral Archives - some 500 items, and the Archives of the Inquisition - some 500 items).

(2) BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE, Paris : v. especially material on the Order (classified under French history).

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

113 (3) BODLEIAN LIBRARY, Oxford : v. lists and catalogues, especially of the collection of some 1,500 Maltese works given by Sir Hannibal P. Scicluna.

(4) BRITISH MUSEUM, London : catalogues and collections on the Order and general.

(5) DURHAM COLLEGES (Department of Geography) ; collection of modern material.

(6) GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, Malta : misc. collections, esp. Departmental and other official publications. (v. Medical and Health Dept. Library, Valletta.)

(7) GOVERNOR'S PALACE, Valletta : Government Gazettes, Minutes of the Malta Legislative Assembly and other official material.

(8) GOZO PUBLIC LIBRARY, Victoria : catalogue and collections.

(9) LONDON UNIVERSITY : catalogue & collections.

(10) MALTA GARRISON OFFICERS' LIBRARY, Valletta : collection.

(11) MEDICAL and HEALTH DEPT. LIBRARY, Valletta : MSS, correspondence, reports, etc.

(12) ORDER of ST. JOHN, Rome : collections.

(13) PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, London : catalogues, indexes and collections (Treasury, War Office, Colonial Office, Admiralty, Blue Books, correspondence etc.)

(14) ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY, London : catalogue (Vol. 4) & collections.

(15) ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, London : catalogue and collections.

(16) ROYAL MALTA LIBRARY, Valletta : MSS, archives of the Order - contracts, charts, Papal bulls, letters, etc. from 1107 to the 18th century. Also catalogue & collections of general material.

(17) ROYAL UNIVERSITY of MALTA, Valletta : Library catalogue and collections (inc. University thesis material, etc.).

Part 2. List of some bibliographies on Maltese subjects

(Note : v. also Part 1)

(18) AGIUS, J.A: 'Malta and the Second World War - some additions to Dr. Galea's Bibliography'; in B/83, 1956, pp. 14-18.

(19) BOISGELIN, Chev. Louis de: a comprehensive list of authors making reference to Malta (books, maps and plans) before 1805: in B/326, p.xv.

(20) CAMBRIDGE HISTORY of the BRITISH EMPIRE : v. under Malta; in Vol.II.

(21) CASSAR, P. : 'Maltese Medical Journals 1838-1952'; in B/83, 1952, pp. 19-32.

(22) CASSAR PULLICINO, J. : 'Malta in British Periodicals 1915-51', a list of 132 articles, based on the lists in B/40; in B/83, 1953, pp.75-86.

(23) CASSAR PULLICINO, J. : 'Other Bibliographical Notices', a list of 32 misc. articles (1953-56); in B/83, 1956, pp. 59-60.

(24) DONALDSON, G. : 'A Handlist of Manuscripts in the British Isles relating to Malta'; in Bulletin No.7 of The Institute of Historical Research, Malta, 1950.

(25) EVANS, J.D. : a list of some 30 references on the archaeology of the Maltese Islands; in B/434, 1959, pp. 194-6.

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(26) GALEA, J. : 'The Archives of the Hospitallers and the Records of the Commune in the Royal Malta Library'. Gives (a) outline history of the Malta Public Records, (b) description of the 18 classes in the catalogue of R/16, and (c) a note on the records of the Commune; in "The Journal of Documentation", Vol. 5, No.1, pp. 31-37.

(27) GALEA, J. : 'Malta and the Second World War. A Bibliography'. List of 266 books, pamphlets, articles and periodicals; in R/83, 1952, pp. 33-49.

(28) HARRISON SMITH : a list of public documents relating to Malta in the 19th century and some 80 general items; in R/471, 1953, Vol.1, pp. 240-256.

(29) HARRISON SMITH : a list of official documents bearing on the period 1899-1903, plus a general list; in R/471-1953, Vol. II, pp.165-172.

(30) HELLWALD, F.H. von : 'Bibliographie méthodique de l'Ordre Souverain de Saint Jean de Jerusalem'. Rome, 1885.

(31) HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Malta : Card Index, planned 26.4.1950, was to begin with indexing of articles in periodicals v. R/83, 1953, pp.65-6.

(32) HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Malta : National Register of Archives. A survey of MS and archive material other than that preserved in Government repositories. v. R/83, 1952, p.61.

(33) HOUSES of LORDS and COMMONS, London : General Index of Bills, Sessional Papers, Debates, etc.

(34) HYDE, H.P.T. : list of 147 items on geology and related topics in the Maltese Islands; in R/487, 1955, pp.114-124.

(35) INGUANEZ, Dom M : 'Hand-list of the Incunabula in the Royal Malta Library', New York, 1951.

(36) INGUANEZ, Dom M : 'Un rarissimo incunabulo della Royal Malta Library', in R/84, Vol. VII, No.2, Jul-Dec. 1954, Malta.

(37) INGUANEZ, Dom M. : 'The Archives of the Università del Gozo - A Classified List'; in R/83, 1956, pp.44-47.

(38) KING, P.S. . 'Catalogue of Parliamentary Papers 1801-1900'; v. under Malta.

(39) LEE, H. : Bibliography in R/500, London, 1949.

(40) LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, London : v. under Malta in 'Subject Index to Periodicals' - pub. annually since 1915 (except 1923-25). Originally the "Athenaeum", a series of class lists for var. subjects, it is now an alphabetical subject-index to some 374 English-language periodicals.

(41) MACKENZIE-GRIEVE, A. : 'Library of the Knights of St. John - Archives at Malta'; in "Country Life", 20.2.1948, pp.373-4.

(42) MORRIS, T.O. : list of some 80 items on water supply and related topics in the Maltese Islands; in R/241, 1952, pp.122-3.

(43) POOLE, W.F. : 'Index to Periodical Literature', London, 1883. Also supplements (with W.I. Fletcher).

(44) PRICE, C.A. : a comprehensive bibliography on emigration, social and general topics; in R/556, 1954, pp.254-263.

(45) QUENTIN HUGHES, J. : list of some 160 works on the architectural and general history of the Islands; in R/483, 1956, pp.227-234.

(46) ROSSI, E. : 'Aggiunta alla bibliographie méthodique de l'Ordre souverain de St.Jean de Jerusalem', Roma, 1924. (v. R/30).

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

113 (47) ROSSI, E. : A bibliography of the Order in R/565, Rome, 1926.

(48) SAYDON, P.P. : 'Bibliographical Aids to the Study of Maltese', a hand-list of books on the Maltese language; in "Journal of Near Eastern Studies", 1953, Vol. XII, No.1 (pp. 20-30) and No.2 (pp.124-133). v. also R/585.

(49) SIMPSON, D.H. : 'Malta'. A special subject list (No.15), issued by R/40, London, inc. 77 general and topical entries.

(50) SIMPSON, D.H. : 'A Checklist of British Official Publications relating to Malta 1801-1950', inc. 115 references on 'official' topics, from the indexes to Parliamentary Papers between 1801-1949 (HMSO); in R/83, 1954, pp.150-156.

(51) VALLETTA, A. : 'A Century of Butterfly Hunting in Malta', bibliography traces the subject since 1843; in "The Link", No.10, 1953, pp.4-7.

(52) VALLETTA, A. : 'Bibliography of the Lepidoptera-Heterocera of the Maltese Islands', a list of 46 items - mainly journal articles; in R/83, 1956, pp.42-43.

Part 3. Sample list of some newspapers, periodicals and journals.

(Note: A comprehensive list of 86 periodicals appearing in 1959 is given in R/96, 1958-9, pp.406-7. Certain nineteenth century periodicals are listed in R/556, p.255. A list of nine periodicals appearing during the 1939-45 War is given in R/27, p.49. Year Books and directories are listed in Part 4.)

(53) "GOVERNMENT GAZETTE" (previously "GAZETTA di MALTA"), Valletta : the official bulletin of Government with supplements; E and M, G.P.O.

(54) "TIMES of MALTA", Valletta (Allied Malta Newspapers, Ltd.) : E - daily.

(55) "Il-BERQA", Valletta (Allied Malta Newspapers, Ltd.): M - daily.

(56) "Is-SEBH", Valletta (Union Press): M - daily.

(57) "The BULLETIN", Hamrun (Lux Press) : E - evening.

(58) "SUNDAY TIMES of MALTA", Valletta (Allied Malta Newspapers, Ltd.): E - weekly.

(59) "The REVIEW", Valletta (Dept. of Information): E - official fortnightly (1956-7 - "C.O.I. Review")

(60) "Ir-REVIEW", Valletta (Dept. of Information) : M, version of R/59.

(61) "TAJJEB LI TKUN TAF", Valletta (Dept. of Information) : M - an occasional news-sheet.

(62) "The KNIGHT", Valletta (Labour Party): literary and political; E.

(63) "MALTA TAGHNA", Tarxien : M - political.

(64) "FORWARD-Il-QUDDIEM", Msida (Progressive Constitutional Party) : E and M - political.

(65) "LEHEN is-SEWWA", Valletta (Malta Catholic Action) : M - religious and social, weekly.

(66) "Il-HUGGIEBA" (Malta Catholic Action) : M - religious, monthly.

(67) "KANA", Valletta (CANA Movement) : M - marriage and family, bi-monthly.

(68) "The FAITH", Mdina : E - religious, bi-monthly.

(69) "Lil-HUTHA" (Malta Catholic Action) : M - for migrants.

113 (70) "The COMMERCIAL COURIER", Valletta : E - organ of the Malta Chamber of Commerce, monthly.

(71) "The TORCH", Sliema : E - trade union.

(72) "The RETAILER", Valletta : E and M - organ of the General Retailers' Union.

(73) "The TEACHER" : E - Malta Union of Teachers.

(74) "Il-BIDWI", Valletta (Dept. of Agriculture) : M - farming, monthly.

(75) "LEHEN il-BDIEWA", Qormi : M - Malta Union of Farmers, monthly.

(76) "ARGUS", Floriana : E - Malta Civil Defence Bulletin.

(77) "YOUTH WORLD", Msida : E - organ of the Malta Youth Consultative Council, monthly.

(78) "CONSPICUA", : Educational and non-political. (Note: other 'local' publications including "MARSA", "Ir-RABAT", "LEHEN il-BELT PINTO", "LEHEN il-BELT VICTORIA", "LEHEN BIRKIRKARA PROGRESSIVA", etc.)

(79) "ARCHIVUM MELITENSE", Valletta: scholarly journal, 1910 et seq.

(80) "BULLETIN of the MALTA CULTURAL INSTITUTE", Floriana : E - monthly.

(81) "JOURNAL of the FACULTY of ARTS", Valletta (Royal University) : mainly E - annually, since 1957.

(82) "LEHEN il-MALTI", Floriana : M - organ of the Ghaqda tal-Malti.

(83) "MELITA HISTORICA" (Malta Historical Society): mainly E - annually, since 1952.

(84) "MELITA THEOLOGICA" : E - a scholarly religous review.

(85) "SCIENTIA", Valletta : E - a scientific and cultural review, quarterly.

Part 4. Some Almanacs, Directories and Year Books.

(86) "ALMANACCO di Malta per l'anno 1807", I - Malta, 1807.

(87) "ALMANAKK", Gozo (St. Joseph's Institute) : M - annually, since 1936.

(88) "ALMANAKK Astronomiku u Meteorologiku", Malta (Lux Press) : M - annually, since 1928.

(89) "ALMANAKK ta' Malta u Ghawdex", Valletta (G.Muscat) : M - annually.

(90) "ANNUARIO della Diocesi di Malta", Malta (Empire Press) : I, L and M - Anno I (1933), pp. 470; Anno II (1934, supplemento), pp.269.

(91) "The CATHOLIC DIRECTORY of Malta and Gozo", Valletta (Archiepiscopal Curia Press Office) : E - 1959, pp.416.

(92) "DOCUMENTI su Malta e Gozo - raccolta di varie cose", Malta, 1843.

(93) "The GOZO Year Book", Gozo (Social Action Movement) : E and M - local information and interest, 1959 (first issue).

(94) "GUIDE to Malta" (previously "Guida di Malta"), Valletta (G.Muscat): E (previously I) - a general & commercial guide, pub. 1880-1940 (33 issues). (Note: v. also "Il Compagno per Tutti", Valletta (Aquilina), appeared in the 1880s).

(95) "The MALTA Almanac and Directory for 1889", Valletta (Critien, L.).

113 (96) "The MALTA Directory and Trade Index", Valletta (Malta Publicity Services) : E - valuable general data and articles, 1956, 1957, 1958-9.

(97) "The MALTA Year Book", St. Julian's (St. Michael's College) : E - current information and valuable special articles, annually, since 1953.

(98) "ROYAL UNIVERSITY - Calendar", Valletta : E (previously I), periodically.

Part 5. List of Malta Government Departments and other official sources which have produced annual or other periodical reports during the past twenty-five years, G.P.O.

(Note esp. the annual volumes containing all such reports available each year. v.B/102)

(99) Reports by the Auditor on the Accounts of Malta
(100) " on the working of the Department of Agriculture
(101) " of the Commissioner for Malta in Australia
(102) " by the Controller of Building Materials
(103) " " " Registrar of Co-Operative Societies
(104) " on the working of H.M. Superior Courts
(105) " " " " " the Courts of Judicial Police
(106) " " " " " " " " Gozo and the Public Registry, Gozo.
(107) " " " " " Customs and Port Department
(108) Departments (Government), Annual Volumes of Reports of,
(109) Reports on the Activities of the Demolition and Clearance Dept.
(110) " " " Department of Education
(111) " " " " " Technical Education (since 1955)
(112) " " " working of the Approved School
(113) " " " Malta General Elections
(114) " " " working of the Electoral Office (for 1946-52 v. B/115)
(115) " " " " " " Electoral Registry
(116) Emigration Reports (early 1920s)
(117) Reports of the Emigration Department (esp. 1926-27)
(118) " by the Director of Emigration (before 1948)
(119) " on the Dept. of Emigration (1948-55)
(120) Report on Emigration from Malta (1951-53)
(121) " " the Dept. of Labour, Emigration and Social Welfare (1956)
(122) Reports of the National Employment Board
(123) " on the working of the Dept. of Fisheries
(108) Government Departments, Annual Volumes of Reports of,
(124) Reports on the working of the Office of the Commissioner for Gozo
(125) " " Housing Activities
(126) " " the working of the Housing Dept.
(127) " of the Collector of Imposts and Lotto
(128) " on the working of the Central Office of Information
(129) " of the Inland Revenue Dept.
(130) " on the Dept. of Labour (except between 1937-48)
(131) " " " " " " and Social Welfare (1937-48, and 1955)
(132) Report on the Dept. of Social Welfare (1949)
(121) " " " " " Labour, Emigration and Social Welfare (1956)
(133) Reports on the working of the Land Valuation Office
(134) " " " " " " Royal Malta Library, the Gozo Public Library and the Circulating Libraries
(135) Annual Reports on the working of the Public Health Dept. (prior to 1925. v. also B/453)
(136) " " on the Health of the Maltese Islands (1926-36)
(137) Reports on the working of the Medical and Health Dept. (after 1936).

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113 (138) Reports of the Milk Marketing Dept. (predecessor of B/139)
(139) " on the working of the Milk Marketing Undertaking
(140) " " " " " " Museum Dept.
(141) " of the Notary to Government
(142) " on the working of the Police Dept.
(143) " " " Activities of the Post Office
(144) " " " working of the Posts and Telephones Dept.
(145) " " " " " " Government Printing Office
(146) " " " Malta Prison
(147) " " " working of the Public Registry.
(148) " of the Public Relations Office
(149) " " " Director of Public Works (prior to 1950)
(150) " on the working of the Public Works Dept.
(151) " " " " " " Rationing Office
(152) " " " " " " Reconstruction Section of the Public Works Dept.
(153) " of the Superintendent of the Reformatory
(154) " " " Religious Instruction Board
(155) " on the working of the Royal University of Malta
(156) " " " " " " Central Office of Statistics
(157) " " " Telephones Dept.
(158) " " " working of the Tourist Bureau
(159) " " " " " " Dept. of Trade & Industry
(160) " by the Trade Development Officer
(161) " of the Registrar of Trade Unions
(162) " on the working of the War Damage Commission
(163) " " " " " " Water and Electricity Dept.

Part 6. List of Censuses and other official Statistical Publications of a periodical rather than special nature, 1800-1959

(164) Census of AGRICULTURE, Malta, C.O.S: annually since 1955.
(165) BLUE BOOKS of Statistics, G.P.O: annually 1821-1936, 2 sets (incomplete) in B/16 and 1 complete set in B/13
(166) CENSUS of the Maltese Islands. 1842: unpub. v. B/53, 12.3.1842.
(167) CENSUS of the Maltese Islands. G.P.O: 1851(v.B/451), 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1948.
(168) CENSUS of the Maltese Islands. 1957. Report on Population and Housing, G.P.O. 1959.
(169) Population, Housing and Employment CENSUS of the Maltese Islands, 1957 - Preliminary Report, G.P.O. 1958.
(170) CENSUS of the British Empire. 1901, H.M.S.O. 1906 : v. article relating to the Maltese Islands (pp. 76-83).
(171) EDUCATION Statistics, G.P.O., annually.
(172) ESTIMATES, G.P.O., annually.
(173) Census of PRODUCTION for 1955. Final Report, G.P.O., 1958, pp.139.
(174) TAXES, Duties, Fees and other sources of Revenue, G.P.O., annually.
(175) Malta SHIPPING Statistics, G.P.O., annually : v. also B/176.
(176) SHIPPING and AVIATION Statistics, G.P.O., annually : v. B/175.
(177) STATISTICAL ABSTRACTS of the Maltese Islands, G.P.O., 1946, 1947-48, 1949 and thereafter annually.
(178) STATISTICAL Summaries, G.P.O., monthly.
(179) Tables Relating to United Kingdom and Dependencies - 1836, London, H.M.S.O. 1839 : see tables relating to the Maltese Islands. (Note: other H.M.S.O. statistics including Maltese Islands)
(180) The TRADE of the Maltese Islands, G.P.O., quarterly
(181) The TRADE of the Maltese Islands, G.P.O., annually - previously appeared as TRADE STATISTICS.

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Part I. List of some of the special reports produced by the United Kingdom and Malta Governments from time to time since 1800, classified into major subject divisions. (v. B/50)

(A) ROYAL COMMISSIONS

(182) Royal Commission (1811-12) : C.O. 158/19, 20.
(183) " " on Colonial Revenue (1830), inc. Malta.
(184) " " (1836-38): inc. reports on Charities, Education, Wages, the Poor, etc., by Commissioners J. Austen and J. Lewis, London, 1838.
(185) Royal Commission (1888): concerning electoral districts for the election of a Council of Govt., L.P. 12.12.1887.
(186) Royal Commission on the Finances, Economic Position and Judicial Procedure of Malta, H.M.S.O., Cmd 6090 & 6280, May 1912.
(187) Royal Commission on the Constitution of Malta (1931-32): H.M.S.O. Cmd 3993 and Col. No. 68 (Minutes),1932.

(B) CONSTITUTION and ADMINISTRATION

(53) "Government Gazette" (previously "Gazetta di Malta"), G.P.O. : the official Govt. record, with supplements, ordinances, acts, lists, etc.
(188) "Hansard", London : v. references to Maltese affairs (debates, Commission and Conference Reports, etc.)
(189) Reports of the Governor of Malta, London, C.O. : from 1846-86 a volume of reports of Colonial Governors was produced but, between 1887-1921, separate Governor's Reports were produced for Malta.
(190) 'Leggi, organizzazione e procedura civile per l'Isola di Malta e sue Dipendenze', Malta, 1855, pp.142.
(191) 'Report.....Commercial and Industrial Policy of the British Empire after the War'. (i.e. as affecting Malta), G.P.O., 1919.
(192) Statement on the Policy of the Government....27th December, 1921. G.P.O., 1921, pp.11.
(193) Papers relating to the new constitution of Malta. H.M.S.O., Cmd, 1921.
(194) Correspondence with the Holy See relative to Maltese Affairs. H.M.S.O. Cmd 3588, 1929-30. (Note also Vatican publications at this time, e.g. 'Exposition of the Malta Question with documents', Rome (Vatican Polyglot Press), 1930, pp.159.)
(195) 'Il significato del Trionfo Nazionalista nelle ultime Elezione Generale di Malta e Gozo - 1932', Malta, G.P.O. 1932 (An English version appeared in 1933)
(196) Report on the Electoral Laws. G.P.O., 1946.
(197) Malta - Statement of Policy on Constitutional Reform. H.M.S.O., Cmd 7014, 1947, pp.11. (v. Report of the Commissioner also)
(198) 'The Colonial Empire (1939-47)', H.M.S.O., 1947 : v. section on Malta pp. 47-49.
(199) 'Report on the Malta Police Force' (Muller W.A.), G.P.O., 1955.
(200) Malta Round Table Conference Report 1955. H.M.S.O. Cmd 9657, 1955, pp.37.
(201) Report of the Commission on the Malta Civil Service. G.P.O., 1956, pp.51.
(202) Report of the Commercial Partnerships Law Reform Commission accompanying a Draft Commercial Partnerships Bill. G.P.O., 1956.
(203) 'The Future'. Series of Rediffusion broadcasts 7.8. to 9.9.1958, G.P.O., 1958, pp.64.

(C) ECONOMY and FINANCE

(204) Revenues of Malta, 1801-02 (82)
(205) Report of the Committee to Enquire into Distress, 1824, London, C.O. 158/41.
(183) Reports of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Receipts and Expenditure of the Revenue in the Colonies ..(inc.Malta), 1830-31 (64).

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(206) Receipts and Expenditure of Revenue of the Islands of Malta, 1846. 1847 (567).
(207) Commission to enquire into distress (1867-68): report pub. in "Malta Observer" of 13.2.1868.
(208) Report on the Finances and Taxation of Malta. (Rowsell, F), 1878 (2032).
(209) Malta and its Industries - Colonial Exhibition, London, 1886.
(210) 'The Malta Trade Union Council (Constitution) Act, 1925', G.P.O., 1926, pp.36.
(211) 'Production and Trade of Malta 1932', H.M.S.O. (Empire Marketing Board/T.P.22), 1932, pp.15.
(212) 'Report on Economic Conditions in Cyprus and Malta', London (Overseas Trade Dept.), H.M.S.O., 1935 (615).
(213) 'Report on Cost of Living Conditions in Malta', Malta, G.P.O., 1943.
(214) 'Report on the Cost of Living - Oct. 1943' (McLeod, N.), G.P.O., 1944.
(215) 'A Study of the working of co-operative societies', Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1945, pp.152, (Paric 0).
(216) 'Report on the Finances of the Government of Malta' (Woods, Sir W.), H.M.S.O. Col. No.196, 1946, pp.47.
(217) 'Cost of Living Index', Conference Report, G.P.O., 1946, pp.xi.
(218) 'Interim Report on the Financial and Economic Structure of the Maltese Islands' (Schuster, Sir G.E.), London, Col. 260, 1950.
(219) 'The Economic Problems of Malta. An Interim Report' (Balogh, T. and Seers, D.), G.P.O., 1955, pp.xliv.
(220) 'Price Trends between 1955 and 1957 based on the 1955 Pilot Survey and on a composite index', G.P.O., 1958, pp. 13.
(174) 'Taxes, Duties, Fees and other sources of Revenue', G.P.O. annually.
(172) 'Estimates', G.P.O., annually.

(D) MEDICAL.

(221) 'Report on the Plague in Malta. 1813' (Burill, W.H.), presented to U.K. Parliament, 1854-55.
(222) 'Relazione generale del Comitato di soccorso istituto in ajuto dai sofferenti dal colera' (Sciortino, R.), Malta, 1866.
(223) 'Report on the Sanitary Condition of Malta and Gozo, with reference to the epidemic of cholera in the year 1865' (Sutherland, J.), London, 1867.
(224) 'The Cholera in Malta and Gozo - 1865', G.P.O. 1867.
(225) 'First Annual Report on the Mortality in Malta and Gozo' (Ghio, A.), Malta, 1874; other issues seq. to 1897, after which R/135 appeared.
(226) Report of the Sanitary Commission - 1874, pub. in "Malta Times" of 28.11.1874.
(227) 'Reports on Leprosy in Malta by a 1917 Committee', G.P.O., 1919.
(228) 'Report on the Medical Services of Malta' (Cronin, J.), G.P.O., 1956, pp.22.
(229) 'Report on a Hospital Building Programme for Malta' (Davies, J.O.F.), G.P.O., 1957, pp.25.
(230) 'Report of the Medical Services Commission' (Farrer-Brown, Boldero & Oldham), G.P.O., 1957, pp.100.

(E) AGRICULTURE, FISHING, WATER SUPPLY, etc.

(231) 'Memorandum on the Water Supply in Malta and Gozo' (Dingli, A.), Malta, 1876: an appendix to 'Report on Mortality', 1875.
(232) 'Report on the Water Supply of Malta' (Chadwick, O.), G.P.O. 1884, 1894 and 1896: v. many other items by Chadwick listed in R/42.
(233) 'Report on Agriculture in Malta' (Dawson Shepherd, J.), G.P.O., 1920.
(234) Papers relating to present fishing regulations,..., Malta (Ministry of Industry and Commerce 7.8.1922), 1922, pp.40.

113 (238) 'Report on investigation of Brucella Melitensis with reference to possible immunization of goats' (Zammit, Th and Debono, J.): as appendix to R/136 (1929).

(236) 'Report on the advancement of Agriculture and Improvement of Live Stock in Malta and Gozo' (Potts, H.W.), G.P.O., 1930, pp.15.

(237) 'The Fishing Industry in Malta' (Hornell, J.), Malta, 1931.

(238) 'Report on the present condition of Agriculture in the Maltese Islands', G.P.O., 1934. (Stockdale, F.A.).

(215) 'A Study of the working of Co-operative Societies' (Paris, O.), Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1945, pp.152.

(239) 'Memorandum by the Director of Agriculture to Sir George Schuster', Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1950, pp.46.

(240) 'Report on a survey of the need for afforestation and water conservation....' (Hamilton, A.F.F.), G.P.O. 1952, pp.30.

(241) 'The Water Supply Resources of Malta' (Morris, T.O.), Govt. of Malta, 1952, pp. 125.

(242) 'The prospects of increasing supplies of water for agriculture in Malta' (Morris, T.O.), unpub., 1950, pp.15.

(243) 'Report to the Govt. of Malta on the Devt. of Agriculture Resources' (F.A.O.), Rome, 1955.

(244) 'Note by B.G. Surridge to the Hon. Minister J.J. Cole' Malta, 1956, pp.8: on agricultural co-operatives.

(245) 'The Dairy Industry in the Maltese Islands' (Ford, G.W.), London, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1956, pp. 123.

(246) 'Report on the Inspection of Government Abattoirs....' (Gillespie, W.M.), Malta, 1956, pp.19.

(247) 'Report to the Govt. of Malta on the afforestation of waste lands....' (Keith, H.G.), Malta, 1956, pp.32.

(248) 'Report on Plant Protection needs in Malta' (Hopkins, J.C.F.), Malta, 1956, pp.5.

(249) 'Report to the Crown Agents on Sewage Purification Scheme for irrigation purposes in Malta' (Binnie, Deacon and Gourley), London, 1956.

(250) 'A Report on the Fishing Industry of Malta' (Burdon, T.W) G.P.O., 1956, pp.79.

(251) 'A Plant Disease Survey of Malta - interim Report' (Wheeler, B.J.), unpub., 1957, pp.34.

(252) 'Agricultural Advisory Service - Report October 1955-September 1957', (Haesler, A.T.), Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, unpub., 1957.

(253) 'Interim Report to the Govt. of Malta on the Marketing of Fruit and Vegetables' (Hofstede, Peter), Malta, unpub., 1957, pp.11.

(F) EMIGRATION

(254) 'Papers relative to Emigration', G.P.O., 13.11.1873.

(255) Further papers relative to Emigration, G.P.O., 26.12.1873.

(256) 'Maltese Emigration to Cyprus' (Dingli, A.), G.P.O., 17.10.1878.

(257) "L'Emigrazione Maltese", Malta 1867-78; I - fortnightly.

(258) 'Report on Lands in Cyprus for a Maltese Settlement' (Testaferrata, G.P. dei Marchesi & Galizia, E.L.), Malta, G.P.O., 29.11.1879.

(259) 'Reports upon the Suitability of the British Colonies in Australasia as a field of Maltese Emigration' (Deccaro, P.S.), Malta, 1883.

(260) Correspondence with regard to Emigration', Malta, Council Paper No.32/1910-11.

(261) 'Report on the subject of a Maltese Settlement in Cyprus' (Casolani, H.), Malta, G.P.O., 1928. (Note v. under Casolani, H. in Part 8).

(262) Correspondence regarding the recruiting of Maltese by the Office Gratuit du Placement des Francais en Tunisie - 1929. Malta, 1930: in R/119 (1928-29, pp. 25-35).

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113 (263) Ordinance to impose restrictions on immigration by British subjects into Malta, No. L, Malta, 15.3. 1848, pp. xxiii.

(264) Ordinance No.11 (1949) on restrictions on the landing of aliens..., G.P.O., 28.6.1949.

(G) EDUCATION

(265) 'Regulations of the Schools constituting the Dept. of Primary Education in the Islands of Malta and Gozo', G.P.O., 1871.

(266) 'Report on the Educational System of Malta' (Keenan, P.), London, C 2685, 1880.

(267) 'Education in Malta' (Manché, L.), Malta: as Suggestions to the select committees of the Council of Govt., 10.1.1897.

(268) 'Report of a Committee appointed to submit recommendations ....a scheme for Compulsory Education', Malta, 1916, pp.16.

(269) 'Statute of the University of Malta, approved 1921', G.P.O., 1921, pp.40, in E and I.

(270) 'Report on the Organization of Education in Malta' (Bruce, W.N.), G.P.O., 1921.

(271) 'The Primary Schools', a report, Malta, G.P.O., 1949, pp.xxix.

(272) 'Report on Education in Malta' (Crichton-Miller, D.), Malta, 1957.

(H) MISCELLANEOUS

(273) 'Report to accompany the Outline Plan for the Region of Valletta and the Three Cities' (Harrison, A.St.B. & Pearce Hubbard, R.), Malta, 1945.

(274) 'Dizzjunarju : Ingliż u Malti' (revised under Mons. C. Psaila, by Govt. authority), Malta, Vol.I (A-G) 1947, Vol.II (H-R) 1951, Vol.III (S-Z) 1955.

(275) 'Report of the Court of Inquiry into the York Crash at Żurrieq, 18.2.1956', G.P.O., 1956, pp.31.

(276) 'Institution of a Land Register and/or Cadastre in Malta', Malta, 1956.

(277) 'Report on the Utilization of Solar Energy' (Heywood, H.), G.P.O., 1957, pp.20.

(278) 'Report on the Manoel Theatre' (Lindsay, V. & Southorn, V.), Malta, 1957.

Part 8. General alphabetical list of books, articles and other items of a non-official nature, but including cross reference to some official reports where identification is thereby facilitated.

(279) ABELA, G.F. : 'Della descrittione di Malta', Libri V, Malta, 1647.

(280) ABELA, V.J. : 'Mgarr - Malta', unpub. dissertation (St.Michael's College), Malta, 1956.

(281) ACTS of the Apostles, New Testament : Chapter 28, Verses 1-11; account of St.Paul's Shipwreck in Melita.

(282) ADAMS, A.L. : 'Outline of the Geology of the Maltese Islands', Ann.& Mag.Nat.Hist.Ser. 3, Vol.XIV, 1864.

(283) " " " : 'Notes of a Naturalist in the Nile Valley and Malta', Edinburgh, 1870.

(284) AGIUS, T. : 'The Climate of Malta', in R/510, 1915.

(285) AGIUS, A.J. : 'A Survey of the economic difficulties facing the Maltese People', dissertation unpub., St. Andrew's Univ., 1951.

(286) Agrarian Society - Malta : v. under Società Economico-Agraria.

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(287) ALFRED, Bro. : 'A Summary ... of the History of Malta ...', in B/97 (1953), pp. 168-175.

(288) " : 'The Status of Malta in Roman Times', in B/97 (1956), pp. 203-210.

(289) " : 'Life in Malta in Roman Times', in B/97 (1957), pp. 189-202.

(290) ANGAS, G.F. : 'A Ramble in Malta and Sicily', London, 1842.

(291) "ANNALIUM SCRIPTOR" : 'Mgarr - Malta, a restrospect from Records', Malta (Empire Press), 1946, pp.29.

(292) annonymous : 'Nouvelle Relation du Voyage et Description exacte de l'Isle de Malte par un Gentilhomme francais', Paris, 1679.

(293) " : 'La Soberana Orden Mil.de S.Juan de Jer. por un Caballero de la Orden', Madrid, 1890.

(294) AQUILINA, J. : 'The Maltese and their Language', in "United Empire", Vol.XXIX, 1938.

(295) " : 'L-Ilsien Malti', Malta (Lux Press), 1945.

(296) " : 'Some Historical phonetic changes in Maltese', in "Orbis", Tome IV, No.2, 1955, pp. 514-521, Louvain, 1955.

(297) " : 'Fields of Maltese Linguistic Research', in "Lingua", Vol.VII, 1, Nov. 1957, Amsterdam.

(298) " : 'Maltese as a Mixed Language', in "Journal of Semitic Studies", Vol.3, No.1, Jan. 1958.

(299) " : 'A Survey of the constituent elements of Maltese', in "Orbis", Tome VII, No.1, 1958, pp.65-78, Louvain.

(300) " : 'A Comparative Study in Mixed Maltese', in B/85, Vol. VIII, pp.133-144 and 174-187.

(301) " & CASSAR PULLICINO, J. : 'Lexical Material in Maltese Folklore', in B/81 (1957).

(90) Archiepiscopal Curia (Malta): 'Annuario della Diocesi di Malta', 1933, pp.470, I, L & M; 1934, supplemento, pp.274, I & L; Malta (Empire Press).

(302) ASHBY, T.H. : 'Roman Malta', in the "Journal of Roman Studies", 1915, pp.28-80.

(303) ATTARD CASSAR, C. : 'Contemporary Maltese Painters', in B/97 (1953), pp.81-88.

(304) " " : 'Contemporary Maltese Sculptors', in B/97 (1953), pp. 106-116.

(305) D'AVEZAC : 'L'Universo Descrizione', v. B/La Croix.

(306) AZZOPARDI, A.C. : 'Scouting in Malta', in B/83 (1958), pp. 283-290.

(307) BADGER, G.P. : 'Description of Malta and Gozo', Malta, 1838 & 1839.

(308) BALLOU, M.M. : 'The Story of Malta', Boston & New York, 1893.

(219) BALOGH, T. & SKEEBS, D. : v. Part 7.

(309) BARRINGTON, Bro.Leo : 'Malta, Our Island Home', London (Macmillan), 1957, pp.78.

(310) BARTHOLO, J. : 'Gieh lil Qassis Malti', Malta (Lux Press), 1952, pp.75.

(311) BARTLETT, W.H. : 'Gleanings on the Overland Route', London, 1851.

113 (312) BARTOLO, A. : 'The Sovereignty of Malta and the Nature of its Title', Valletta, 1909, pp.243.

(313) " : 'Malta - A neglected outpost of Empire', Malta, 1911.

(314) " : 'History of the Maltese Islands', Malta, 1915.

(315) " : 'Malta and Sea Power', an address to R.C.I., 28.9.1920.

(316) " : 'The Present Position of Malta', in the Journal of the R.I.I.A., No.5, Vol.IX, 1930.

(317) BEDFORD, W.K.R. : 'Regulations of the old Hospital of the Knights of St.John of Valletta....', Edinburgh & London, 1882.

(318) " : 'Malta and the Knights Hospitallers', London,, 1894.

(319) " : 'Malta and the Maltese Race', in R.C.I. Journal, No.3, Session 1895-96, pp.176-180.

(320) BEELEY, B.W. : 'Gozo: A Changing Island', in R/93 (1959), pp.5-8.

(321) BELLANTI, P.F. : 'Studies in Maltese History', Valletta, 1924.

(322) BELLANTI, D.G. : 'Why Malta, Why Ghawdex', Malta, 1934 - place-names.

(323) BIASINI, R. : 'Il-Ghala l'Biodja li hekk mohtieġa ghall-Pajjiż', 1945.

(249) BINNIE, DEACON & GOURLEY : v. Part 7.

(324) BLAQUIERE, E. : 'Letters from the Mediterranean', London, 1813.

(325) BLOOD, Sir H : 'The Smaller Territories', London (Conservative Political Centre), 1958.

(326) BOISGELIN, Chev. L. de : 'Ancient and Modern Malta', (2 vols.), London 1805.

(327) BONELLI, L. : 'Saggi del Folklore dell'Isola di Malta', Palermo, 1895.

(328) BONELLO, A. : 'La Migrazione Maltese', Malta, 1874.

(329) BONNICI, Mgr. A. : 'Marija u Malta', Malta, 1949.

(330) " : 'The Church and the Freedom of the Press in Malta', in R/83 (1957), pp.105-121.

(331) BONNICI CALI, R. : 'Gian Francesco Abela...', in R/85, Vol. XIX, No.2, 1953, pp.71-89.

(332) BORCH, Comte de, : 'Lettres sur la Sicile et sur l'Ile de Malte 1777', Turin, 1782.

(333) BORG, G. : 'Coltivazione del Banano in Malta', Malta (S.E.A.), 1920, pp.28.

(334) BOSIO, Giacomo : 'Dell'Istoria della sacra religione od illustrissima militia di S.Giovanni Gerosolimitano', Roma, 1594 & 1602.

(335) BOWEN-JONES, H. : 'Malta. An Interpretation of the Cultural Landscape', unpub. lecture, 1956.

(336) " & DEWDNEY, J.C. : 'Agriculture in Malta. A Survey of Land Use', Durham Colleges (Dept. of Geography), 1955.

(337) " , DEWDNEY, J.C., & FISHER, W.B. : 'Malta. Background for Development', Durham Colleges (Dept. of Geography), pub. expected 1960.

(338) BOWER, R. : 'The Language Question in Malta', in "National Review", No.590, Vol. XCIX, 1932.

113 (339) BRADLEY, R.N. : 'Malta and the Mediterranean Race', London, 1912.

(340) BRAUN, H. : 'Works of Art in Malta: Losses and Survivals in the War', London, H.M.S.O., 1946.

(341) BRES, O. : 'Malta antica illustrata', Rome, 1816.

(342) BRIFFA, J. & BORG, J. : 'Climbing Plants in Malta', Malta, 1919.

(343) BROCKMAN, W.E. : 'Maltese Memories - Tifkiriet', London, 1938.

(270) BRUCE, W.N. : v. Part 7.

(344) BRYDONE, P. : 'A tour through Sicily & Malta, in a series of letters to W.Beckford of Somerly in Suffolk', London (1773, 1774, 1807); Leipzig (1774); Paris & Amsterdam (1775); Perth (1799); Edinburgh (1808 & 1840).

(345) BUONTEMPO, A. : 'Problemi di Diritto Ecclesiastico Maltese', Malta, 1954.

(250) BURDON, T.W. : v. Part 7.

(346) BURGESS, R.J. : 'A Geography of the Maltese Islands', Malta, 1956.

(221) BURRILL, W.H. : v. Part 7.

(347) BUSETT, P. : 'Royal Regiment of Malta', London, 1936.

(348) BUSSUTIL, V. : 'Summary of the History of Malta', Malta, 1890.

(349) " : 'A Tourists's Guide to the Maltese Islands', Malta, 1883, etc.

(350) BUSUTTIL, E.D. : 'Kalepin (Dizjunarju) Malta - Inglit', Malta (Progress Press), 1949. (v. also E - M Dictionary).

(351) BUTCHER, M. : 'Elements of Maltese. A simple practical Grammar', O.U.P., 1938, pp.200.

(352) BUXTON, L.H.D. : 'The Ethnology of Malta and Gozo', in Journal of the R.A.I., Vol. 52, (1922), p.164.

(353) " : 'Malta - An Anthropological Study', New York, 1924.

(354) CACHIA, E.A. : 'The Infant in the House', in B/581 (1956), Malta.

(355) Calendario dell'Agricoltore; M & I, Malta (S.E.A.), 1849 & 1850.

(356) CALLEJA, G. : 'The works of art in the Churches of Malta and the Governor's Palace, Valletta' (trans. G.N. Godwin), Malta, 1881.

(357) Cambridge Modern History; historical notes on Malta.

(358) CAMILLERI, C.A. : 'Storia ed Educazione delle Api', Malta (S.E.A.), 1848, pp.65.

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SECTION 8 : Appendices

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APPENDIX 1 A : POPULATION

YEAR	All Islands	Malta	Gozo	Urban	Fringe	Inner Rural	Rural	Outer Rural
1957	319,620	292,019	27,601	135,390	83,898	50,002	40,438	10,892
1948	305,991	278,311	27,680	129,153	78,432	48,766	39,405	12,175
1931	241,621	217,784	23,837	114,196	51,387	38,780	29,502	9,776
1921	212,258	189,697	22,561	98,089	44,114	34,166	26,877	9,053
1911	211,564	188,869	22,695	96,147	43,902	36,346	28,896	8,573
1901	184,742	164,952	19,790	84,429	36,111	32,276	22,814	7,312
1891	165,037	146,484	18,553	75,377	33,142	30,012	20,521	5,985
1881	149,782	132,129	17,653	68,476	29,388	27,837	18,182	5,861
1871	140,883	123,492	17,391	61,782	28,567	26,719	18,020	5,796
1861	132,958	117,497	15,459	58,788	27,197	25,289	18,483	5,188
1851	123,496	108,833	14,663	54,885	24,800	24,200	18,880	3,061
1842	113,884	99,522	14,342	51,487	21,923	22,183	14,438	3,853
1828	114,238	98,618	15,618	-	-	-	-	-
1807	93,054	80,225	12,829	-	-	-	-	-
1741	15,032	13,309	1,723	-	-	-	-	-
1632	52,900	49,900	3,000	-	-	-	-	-
1530	29,869	25,000	4,891	-	-	-	-	-

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Sources : 1957 - R/188
1851 to 1948 (inc.) - R/187
1842 - R/186
1828 (estimate) - R/516, Vol.1, p.151
1807 (estimate) - R/86
1741 (estimate) - v.R/187 (1881, p.2)
1632 (estimate) - R/383, Vol.1, Chapter 8
1530 (estimate) - R/516, Vol.1, p.151 (after R/334)

Notes : (i) 1957 population figures by census localities (R/188) are given in Appendix 3.

(ii) See R/186, 187, and 188, for full statistics since 1842; see also R/381 for detailed analysis of population changes.

(iii) Some of the information in the above table is given in graph form.

(iv) See Map 3 for Population Density by Localities, 1957.

APPENDIX 1 B.

162 Occupational Structure of Population 1957 (B/177-1957).

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
A. Malta Government			
Administrative, Executive & Clerical	1600	300	1900
Professional & Technical	1920	1520	3440
Protective Social & other Services	2650	690	3340
Minor & manipulative Office Staff	930	70	1000
Trade Groups	7090	200	7290
TOTAL	14190	2780	16970
B. Service Departments			
Industrial	17260	560	17820
Non-Industrial	1720	220	1940
H.M. Forces	3550	-	3550
TOTAL	22530	580	23110
C. PRIVATE INDUSTRY			
Agriculture	6512	1301	7813
Fishing	820	20	840
Construction	4940	10	4950
Wholesale and Retail	7510	3100	10610
Transport	3250	120	3370
Food (except beverages)	1150	460	1610
Beverages	750	250	1000
Personal Service	2240	3250	5590
All other Private Industry	7590	2030	9620
TOTAL	34762	10541	45303
TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION:	71482	13901	85383

NB - Total gainfully-occupied figures, by localities, are listed in Appendix 2 A.

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APPENDIX 1 C : Some Trade Statistics, 1957.

439 (i) Principal Trading Partners, 1957 (B/181-1957)

COUNTRY	IMPORTS[a] into Malta	EXPORTS from Malta	RE-EXPORTS from Malta
	£	£	£
United Kingdom	11,237,471	283,142	240,749
Canada	1,189,815	7,525	6
Australia	488,947	12,045	2,047
H.M.Ships & British merchants ships and aircraft	77,250	8,988	1,759,118
Rest of Commonwealth and Eire	641,083	43,710	23,391
Italy	3,334,315	254,164	181,519
Netherlands and Antilles	1,887,655	25,765	438
France	1,298,672	18,915	3,657
West Germany	1,099,727	19,089	9,366
United States	876,754	508	4,426
Denmark	641,590	3,938	1,317
Yugoslavia	807,563	9	100
Lebanon	598,647	2,009	3,079
Libya	418,087	193,436	156,382
other foreign countries except Eire	2,631,500	14,214	94,254
	£27,009,056	£887,535	£2,459,849

(ii) Commodities, 1957 (B/181-1957)

Article (£)	IMPORTS[a] into Malta	EXPORTS from Malta	RE-EXPORTS from Malta
Food, drink & tobacco	8,990,319	222,305	438,359
Raw material & articles mainly unmanufactured	3,576,170	484,503	1,807,631
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	11,836,029	185,054	176,281
Misc. & unclassified	2,606,538	5,583	337,598
	£27,009,056	£887,535	£2,459,849

a. excluding Gold.

(iii) Customs Revenue on Imports, 1957 (B/181-1957)

£ 3,846,620

(iv) Trade in selected items of 'Food and Drink', 1957 (B/181-1957)

Article (£)	IMPORTED into Malta	EXPORTED from Malta	RE-EXPORTED from Malta
Meat - uncanned	393,991	-	6,672
Meat - canned	803,255	8	14,153
Milk - evaporated, dried, condensed	768,909	-	1,478
Butter	129,970	-	810
Cheese & Curd	400,557	-	378
Eggs	183,424	-	-
Fish & Preparations	171,333	97	1,578
Wheat - unmilled	1,391,507	-	-
Barley - unmilled	78,877	-	-
Fruit & Nuts - fresh	421,683	-	63
Fruit - fried & preserved	206,826	25,334	8,185
Potatoes - table	1,083	104,961	-
Potatoes - seed	97,742	-	-
Other vegetables	832,789	18,078	-
Animal feed	456,181	-	-
Alcoholic Beverages	373,808	28,818	90,389

APPENDIX 1 D : Agriculture (E/164-1957)

131 (i) AREAS

AREA of the Maltese Islands.....	276,429 tmien	(77,400 ac)
Area of Malta.....	217,143 tmien	(60,800 ac)
Area of Gozo.....	59,286 tmien	(16,600 ac)
423 CULTIVABLE AREA of the Maltese Islands	156,211 tmien	(12,484 hldngs)
Holdings of dry (baghli) land....	116,460 tmien	(10,517 ")
Holdings of irrigable (saqwi)land	700 tmien	(88 holdings)
Holdings of both dry & irrigable.	39,051 tmien	(1,879 ")

241 (ii) ACREAGE and PRODUCTION of CROPS. 1956-57

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CROP	ACREAGE	VALUE(£)	YIELD(Tons)	YIELD per Acre (tons)
Wheat	5,192	98,908	2,916	0.6
Barley & Maslin	4,836	68,339	2,738	0.6
Vetches	1,727	51,993	1,354	0.8
Forages	11,000	361,150(a)	32,000(a)	2.3
Broad Beans	1,000	15,233	336	3.5
Cumin Seed	14	180	3	0.2
Cotton	35	800	8	0.2
Locust Beans	500	20,000	1,500	3.0
Total	24,304	616,603	40,875	
Potatoes (spring)	6,000	350,000	21,000	3.5
Potatoes (autumn)	3,057	193,394	9,157	3.0
Melons	2,721	32,908	1,714	0.6
Onions	789	47,970	3,000	3.8
Tomatoes	3,000	146,000	12,000	4.0
Other vegetables	3,697	344,744	18,436	5.0
Total	19,259	1,115,016	65,307	
Grapes	5,204	171,102	5,347	1.0
Citrus	160	32,000	510	3.0
Other Fruit	1,000	105,000	4,000	2.0
Total	6,364	308,102	9,847	
Flowers & Seeds	250	100,000	..	
TOTAL	ac.50,177	£2,139,721	116,029 Tons	

(a) Including Straw.

231 (iii) CLASSIFICATION OF LIVESTOCK. 1957 (September)

	Malta(1957)	Gozo (1957)	TOTAL(1957)	TOTAL(1940)
Horses.....	1,688	369	2,057	2,753
Donkeys.....	1,732	1,107	2,839	3,335
Mules.....	1,535	349	1,884	2,351
Goats.....	21,630	10,428	32,058	
Billy Goats.....	417	177	594	50,677
Kids under 1 year...	3,584	3,121	6,685	
Sheep.....	8,091	4,241	12,332	
Rams.....	98	43	141	21,237
Lambs under 1 year..	1,015	1,330	2,345	
Bulls.....	377	294	671	
Heifers Pregnant....	339	195	534	
Heifers other.....	731	363	1,094	
Milch Cows.....	2,536	963	3,402	3,633
Stud Bulls.....	111	26	137	
Maltese Draught-Cows	109	6	115	
Imported Store Bulls	2,860	824	3,684	
Breeding Sows.....	2,783	598	3,381	
Boars.....	214	87	301	30,015
Sucking Pigs.....	935	367	1,302	
Other Fatteners.....	6,581	1,753	8,334	
Hens.....	193,683	138,630	332,313	
Other Poultry.....	5,145	1,364	6,509	
Rabbits.....	43,845	16,048	59,893	

407 (iv) MECHANIZED IMPLEMENTS owned by farmers, 1956-57

IMPLEMENTS	MALTA	GOZO	TOTAL
Tractors - under 10 horse-power.....	15	11	26
Tractors - over 10 horse-power.....	28	8	32
Hand Cultivators - under 10 h-p.....	592	74	666
Hand Cultivators - over 10 h-p.....	54	19	73
Harvesting machines - under 10 h-p..	16	1	17
Harvesting machines - over 10 h-p..	1	-	1
Threshing machines - under 10 h-p...	2	-	2
Threshing machines - over 10 h-p...	13	4	17

162 241 (v) FARMING POPULATION.1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers.....	6,512	1,301	7,813
Part-time farmers.....	6,834	2,954	9,588
Farming population not in farming (over 14).....	5,777	14,694	20,471
Children (under 14).....	10,246	9,795	20,041
Total.....	29,169	28,744	57,913

46 241 (vi) DAYS WORKED on farms (in Man/days). 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers.....	full	full	2,343,900
Part-time farmers.....	part	part	340,221
Hired labour.....	158,515	28,401	186,916
Unpaid farmers' relatives...	43,718	5,718	49,388

162 (vii) FARMERS as PERCENTAGE of Total Population. 1871-1957 (v.A)

	FULL-TIME FARMERS					as % TOTAL POPULATION				
	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957
Urban	342	415	307	325	224	.55	.49	.27	.22	.17
Fringe	3923	2259	2181	1618	1150	13.7	5.9	4.25	2.1	1.37
Inner R.	5028	4224	3597	2404	1795	18.8	13.1	8.7	5.15	3.8
Rural	4858	4791	4802	4271	3133	27	21	15.6	10.8	7.8
Outer R.	1763	2200	3002	2805	1511	30	30	31	23	13.9
TOTAL	15910	13889	13889	11423	7813	11.3	7.8	5.15	3.7	2.48

NB: - Sources - 1957 full-time farmers (B/164 - 1957)
- 1957 Population (B/168)
- other data (B/167)
- See also Map 2, and Graph

162 46 241 (viii) PART-TIME FARMING (B/525, p.112)

	1901		1956
"Farmers".....	5038	Full-time Farmholders..	4706
"Part-time farmers"..	500	Part-time " ..	5337
		Other Farmholders.....	1388
TOTAL.....	5538	.....	11411
No. of Holdings.....	9178	.....	12640

(ix) FARM LABOURING (B/525, p.111): Farmholders, labourers, field workers as % total.

	1842	1861	1881	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders %...	27.2	19.7	17.1	30.2	19.1	37.4	38.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers %...	71.9	78.4	80.9	68.1	79.5	61.4	60.4	51.4	58.9	51.1
Total workers %...	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
On land (000's)...	12.8	13.4	10.8	15.9	18.0	15.6	13.9	15.2	16.3	13.7

APPENDIX 2 A : The Malta Dockyard, Employees by Locality of Residence, March 1957.

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LOCALITY	Maltese Workers	Gainfully-Occupied	%	United Kingdom Workers
Pawla	1,281	3115	38.8	20
Żejtun	995	3500	28.4	1
Żabbar	961	3481	31	1
Cospicua	960	2599	37	6
Hamrun	715	6594	11.25	5
Sliema	573	6660	8.6	232
Senglea	537	1406	38.1	17
Tarxien	467	2184	21.6	-
Vittoriosa	461	1216	38	4
Valletta	444	5927	7.5	2
Birkirkara	441	5128	11.8	5
Qormi	408	4401	9.3	-
Rabat	363	4293	8.7	1
Żurrieq	345	2154	16	-
Marsa	343	3023	11.4	-
Żebbuġ	248	2554	9.7	-
Msida	240	1725	13.9	15
Kalkara	218	618	35.4	3
Birżebbuġa	215	1285	16.7	1
Gżira	214	2214	9.8	26
Luqa	173	1263	13.7	-
Floriana	172	1755	9.75	5
Mosta	169	2412	7	1
St. Julian's	155	2153	7.2	44
Ghaxaq	154	838	18.5	-
Siġġiewi	148	1670	8.85	-
Gudja	104	514	19.9	-
Dingli	94	781	12	-
Marsaxlokk	83	484	17.2	-
Marsaskala	83	v.Żabbar		2
Pieta	79	1062	7.45	3
Balzan	76	761	10	10
Lija	75	685	11	4
Qrendi	73	768	9.5	-
Naxxar	72	1582	4.55	3
Mqabba	68	634	10.7	-
Attard	55	965	5.7	1
Kalliċha	50	1279	3.9	-
Kirkop	50	372	13.4	-
Safi	29	257	11.3	-
Gharghur	28	608	4.55	-
St. Paul's Bay	27	1027	2.33	3
GOZO	25	7893	0.32	-
Santa Venera	25	v.Hamrun		1
Mġarr	24	784	3.08	-
Mdina	11	v.Rabat		1
not known	81			-
	12,572			417

Notes - The distribution of Maltese workers as a percentage of total gainfully-occupied population by localities is shown on Map 4.

- Sources; see Note (7). Gainfully-occupied figures from B/188.

APPENDIX 2 B : The Malta Dockyard - Dates of major Extensions prior to 1810.

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Admiralty House, Vittoriosa	Probably built	1670-1680
Superintendent Victualling Yard House	" "	1730
Captain Attendant's House	Built	1730
Admiralty House, Valletta	Re-built	1761-1763
Deputy Surgeon General's House, Bighi	Altered	1832
Officers' Residences	"	1832
Deputy Surgeon General's Office	Built	1832
Sea Baths, Bighi	"	1832 (extended in 1871, 1877, 1879 and 1886)
Dockyard in Galley Creek	Mainly built	1840-1850
Corradino Tank, No. 1	Built	1841
Naval Bakery	"	1844
Clock Tower	"	1844
Camine Tunnel	"	1845
Dockyard Terrace, Senglea	"	1846
No. 1 Dock (Outer)	"	1847
Bakery Tanks	"	1847-1848
Officers' Mess, Sheer Bastion	Altered	1848
Buildings round No. 1 Dock	Built	1848
Admiralty Bridge (Margherita)	"	1848
Master Miller, Baker Engineer's House	"	1848
Police Quarters	"	1848
(Late) Torpedo Store	"	1848
Main Gate	"	1849
Wharf by Sheer Bastion and Main Gate	"	1850
Foreman's Residence	"	1851
St. Helena Tank	"	1852
Slip in front of Margherita Arches	"	1852
St. Teresa Tunnel	"	1855
St. Lorenzo Tunnel	"	1858
Corradino Tank No.2	"	1861
No.1 Dock (Inner)	"	1862
Officers' Mess, Bighi	"	1863
Short Tunnel from Dockyard to French Creek	"	1865
Church Tunnel " " " " "	"	1866
Naval Coal Stores, various	"	1869
No.3 Dock (Somerset)	"	1871
Hydraulic Dock	"	1871
Dockyard Chapel, over Tunnel	"	1882
Pumping House, No. 3 Dock	"	1884
Torpedo Depot, Bliema	"	1884
North Gate	"	1892
No. 2 Dock (Hamilton)	"	1892
South Gate	Re-built	1894
Scheme for increased accommodation for H.M. Ships	Approved	1901
Works Department Office	Built	1901
New Docks	"	1906
Burnola Gate	"	1906
Ghajn Dwieli Gate	Re-built	1906
Corradino Gate	Built	1907
Ricasoli Breakwater	"	1907
St. Elmo Breakwater	"	1909

NOTE Information from R/488, Appendix XI.

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6 .

APPENDIX 3 : THE BUILT-UP AREA

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"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. B/188, p.38). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

CENSUS LOCALITIES	LOCALITIES: LAND AREA, sq. miles A	LOCALITIES: POPULATION. B	"TOWNSHIPS": LAND AREA, as % of A.	"TOWNSHIPS": POPULATION, as % of B.
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,085	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,085	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	8,545	38.9	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,399	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Fawla	1.066	11,424	24.6	100
Marsa	0.883	10,672	38.8	100
Hamrun	0.360	16,895	73.1	100
Msida	0.368	6,587	53.3	98.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,076	78.5	100
St. Julians	1,635	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.238	2,734	68.8	100
Luqa	1.812	5,382	5.8	91.2
Birkirkara	2.736	16,987	15.2	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,706	12.5	56.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,246	34.9	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,868	9.9	95.6
Birlebbuġa	2.994	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.255	11,893	9.5	61.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,665	5.9	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,119	24.1	98.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,068	5	97.5
Kirxaxlokk	1.952	1,469	1.9	92.9
Żurrieq	3.536	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,630	6.8	98.5
Attard	2.090	2,663	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1.835	6,357	19.6	97
Mdina	2.473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	97.9
Żebbuġ	3.167	7,989	10.2	99.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	98
Gudja	1.709	1,712	2.8	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,155	2.2	97.7
Kirkop	0.717	1,204	6.3	100
Naxxar	6.538	4,688	2.7	83
Rabat	8.048	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.286	3,281	12.9	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	2	87.3
Mellieha	7.808	4,290	0.9	71.9
Siġġiewi	6.230	5,065	2.4	96.4
Sannat & Nunnar	2.187	1,656	4.9	99.6
Nadur	2.487	4,136	7.8	98.7
Safi	0.447	709	10.1	87.7
Dingli	3.674	2,041	1.7	68.5
Qala	2.218	1,816	3.8	95.8
St. Paul's Bay	5.620	3,040	2.1	72.5
Kerċem & St.Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xagħra	4.654	4,056	5.8	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,209	2.2	67.3
San Lawrenz	1.355	438	3.4	88.2
Żebbuġ	2.776	1,199	4.4	95.1
Mġarr	5.896	2,167	0.8	31.2
Ghasri	1.423	471	3	41.2
Comino	1.075	30	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.850	319,020	7.6	91.1
Malta	98.878	292,019	8	90.9
Gozo	26.974	27,001	5.9	83.6

NB: - Information from B/188. Table P IIIb).

APPENDIX 4 : The LAY APOSTOLATE

794 Of the more than two dozen movements which now form the Lay Apostolate in the Maltese Islands (v.B/91) five of the more prominent organizations are shown in the table by their present distribution and by the date, where known, of their foundation in each parish. Numbers of confraternities and third orders, and numbers of churches in each parish are also included.

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Malta Catholic Action - Young Men ..... CY
" " " - Young Women ..... CG
" " " - Men ..... CM
" " " - Women ..... CW
Society of Christian Doctrine (N.U.S.E.U.M.) - Men ..... MM
" " " " - Women ..... MF
Legion of Mary, number of Praesidia in each parish ..... LM
Holy Name Society ..... AM
Young Christian Workers ..... YCW
Confraternities and Third Orders ..... Cs
Churches ..... Chs
Date of foundation of Parish ..... Date
Parishes where a movement has no branch ..... .
" " " " a branch but date of its appearance in that parish not known ..... B

In CY, CG, CM, CW, MM, MF, AM, YCW, numbers (e.g. 38, 10) indicate date of appearance of branch (i.e. 1938, 1910, etc.)

No information ..... ?

IB - Information derived in large part from B/91.
- List arranged by increasing size of farming element of the working population (v. Section 1).

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PARISH	Date	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AM	YCW	Cs	Chs
Valletta 1	1585	B	25	58	B	10	10	2	55	55	11	8
" 2	1587	B	B	B	B	B	.	10	.	B	8	10
Cospicua	1584	51	48	57	.	08	08	.	.	56	8	5
Senglea	1581	30	.	30	.	16	B	1	.	.	9	4
Vittoriosa	1090	B	B	B	B	B	B	.	B	.	7	5
Żejra	1913	37	39	45	43	33	10	4	48	.	2	3
Sliema 1	1878	32	31	33	56	.	.	9	B	.	4	3
" 2	1918	.	B	58	B	.	.	2	.	.	2	3
" 3	1940	41	55	41	B	B	B	10	.	B	3	5
Floriana	1844	27	B	50	53	07	38	3	38	B	5	4
Pawla	1910	28	B	28	28	10	10	4	48	48	2	4
Marsa	1913	B	B	B	B	00	00	1	.	51	.	3
Hamrun	1881	26	34	42	47	07	12	7	32	48	.	7
Msida, Pieta	1867	31	31	56	.	00	00	2	B	B	4	4
St. Juliens	1891	45	44	45	48	?	.	3	.	.	5	3
Balzan	1855	B	58	31	57	B	B	4	B	.	4	7
Luqa	1634	51	51	51	.	B	.	.	.	.	4	7
Birkirkara	1436	32	?	B	57	B	B	8	31	48	8	10
Tarxien	1592	37	B	?	.	09	.	2	.	.	5	4
St. Venera	1918	46	37	45	50	34	34	1	.	.	2	4
Qormi 1	1438	B	B	.	B	?	?	.	.	.	7	8
" 2	1935	35	35	57	.	14	?	?	30	B	3	3
Birchebbuga	1913	?	?	44	.	37	24	.	31	.	1	7
Żabbar	1615	46	45	48	52	09	.	5	47	.	8	3
Marsaskala	1949	.	.	.	.	46	45	.	49	.	1	1
Żejtun	1436	52	35	B	55	12	B	.	B	55	5	7
Lija	1594	B	50	58	.	52	53	2	29	.	3	5
Naxxar	1598	.	.	.	.	32	33	5	32	.	4	7
Marsaxlokk	1897	.	58	.	.	50	50	.	52	.	2	7
Żurrieq	1436	32	30	47	40	26	28	.	29	54	8	7
Ghaxaq	1626	.	.	.	.	56	07	.	B	B	3	4
Attard	1575	.	.	B	.	21	21	2	.	.	4	7
Mosta	1606	B	B	44	49	B	B	5	.	48	9	7
Żebbuġ(M)	1436	32	35	44	48	11	15	.	28	.	7	10
Ghajnsielem	1855	B	B	.	.	.	B	1	.	.	2	4
Gudja	1436	.	46	.	51	15	15	.	33	.	4	4
Qrendi	1618	B	B	.	.	B	B	.	B	.	5	7
Kirkop	1592	48	48	.	.	52	.	.	44	.	3	7
Naxxar	1436	47	40	B	.	35	31	1	35	48	8	5

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PARISH	DATE	CY	CG	CH	CV	MM	MF	LM	AM	YCW	Cs	Chs
Rabat*	1902	33	33	57	.	33	37	8	28	56	15	17
Xewkija	1678	33	33	.	.	0	0	2	0	.	2	2
Gharghur	1598	0	46	58	57	0	33	.	32	.	6	6
Nellieha	1841	54	48	57	54	.	44	3	0	52	4	3
Siġġiewi	1436	32	0	38	.	28	38	.	0	48	6	.
Sannat	1888	.	32	30	.	50	.	1	.	.	2	1
Nadur	1688	0	0	.	.	0	0	.	0	.	3	3
Safi	1598	7	54	.	56	.	0	.	37	54	3	2
Dingli	1678	48	.	.	.	36	36	.	32	.	2	2
Qala	1872	0	0	.	.	0	0	.	.	.	3	2
St. Paul's Bay	1905	46	.	0	42	.	46	2	.	.	4	7
Kerċem,St.Lucia	1885	0	0	29	0	.	.	1	47	.	2	2
Xagħra	1688	0	0	.	.	.	.	2	0	.	3	4
Għarb	1679	0	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
San Lawrenz	1893	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Żebbuġ(G)	1888	.	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Mġarr (M)	1898	0	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
Għasri	1921	.	.	40	.	.	.	.	27	.	2	2
Munxar	1957	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	1	1

Mdina (A.D. 60) 1090 - Co-Cathedral of Malta (with St. John's, Valletta).
Cathedral of Gozo (at Victoria).

* - separated from Mdina, 1802.

APPENDIX 5 : WEIGHTS and MEASURES

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UNIT	EQUIVALENTS		
	Maltese	British	Metric
LENGTH			
Pulzier (pollice)	-	0.889 ins	21.83 mm
Xiber (palmo)	12 Pulzier	10.312 ins	26.19 cm
Qasba (canna)	8 Xbar*	2.292 yds	2.095 m
AREA			
Qasba Kwadra	-	2.252 sq.yds	1.891 sq.m
Kejla	-	22.410 sq.yds	18.735 sq.m
Siegh (mondello)	10 Kejliet*	224.100 sq.yds	187.354 sq.m
Tomna (tumolo)	6 Sieghan*	0.278 acre	0.112 ha.
Kadd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	4.444 acres	1.798 ha.
		(1 acre - 3.8 tolen*)	
VOLUME			
Xiber Kubu	-	0.83 cu.ft	
Qasba Kubu	-	12.04 cu.yds	
WEIGHT			
Uqija	-	0.933 oz	0.026 kg
Ratal (rotolo)	30 Uqija	1.750 lbs	0.793 kg
Wiżna	5 Rtal*	8.750 lbs	3.968 kg
Quntar	20 Wiżna	175.000 lbs	79.378 kg
		(1 ton - 12.8 quntar* - 1016.128 kg)	
BUNDLE MEASURE			
Qatta, Xibka, Xbora (sheaf or bundle of sulla, wheat, etc.)			
Somel (soma)	10 Qattiet* (8 Qattiet in Gozo)		
CAPACITY: DRY GOODS			
Tomna (tumolo)	-	0.0825 qrs	0.1818 hectolitre
Xejba	4 Tolen*	2.0 bushels	0.7272 "
Kadd (salma)	16 L'Tomna	8.0 "	2.909 "
CAPACITY: OIL & MILK			
Tarz	-	0.281 quart	0.32 litres
Nofs	2 Terzi*	0.562 "	0.63 "
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	1.125 "	1.27 "
Kwarta	4 Kratoċ*	1.125 gallons	5.11 "
CAPACITY: BEER, WINES & SPIRITS			
Pinta	-	0.25 pint	0.142 litres
Terz	2 Pinet*	0.50 "	0.284 "
Nofs	2 Terzi*	1.00 "	0.561 "
Kartoċċ	2 Nfas*	2.00 "	1.138 "
Kwarta	4.75 Kratoċ*	1.187 gallons	5.388 "
Garra	2 Karti*	2.375 "	10.797 "
Barmil (Barrel)	4 Garar*	9.500 "	43.187 "

MONEY

436 Sterling is the official currency in Malta and Gozo but various old units are also retained in popular usage:

'Lira'	£1	'Sitta(6) rbajja'	10d
'Nofs Lira'	10s	'Sixpence'	6d
'Tmintax(18) rbighi'	2s 6d	'Tlieta(3) rbajja'	5d
'Skud'	1s 8d	'Sold'	4d
'Kalin'	1s	'Sitt(6) habbiet'	1d

(A 'habba' - grain - was one twelfth of a penny; twenty 'habbiet' equalled one 'tari' or 'rbighi'.)

193 804 NOTES: (1) Plural forms, identified by an asterisk* in the table: Garar (s.Garra); Habbiet (s.Habba); Kratoċ (s.Kartoċċ); Kejliet (s.Kejla); Kwarti (s.Kwarta); Nfas (s.Nofs); Pinet (s.Pinta); Quntar (s.Quntar); Qattiet (s.Qatta); Rbajja (s. Rbajji); Rtal (s.Ratal); Sieghan (s.Siegh); Skudi (s.Skud); Terzi (s.Terz); Tolen (s.Tomna); Xbar (s.Xiber); Wiżniet (s.Wiżna).

127 114 (2) The information in the table is based in part on that given in S/00 - 1955-6, p.410, and in part on personal investigation.

NOTES

[105] 1. Many settlements in the Islands possess Italian and English names often quite distinct from the local Maltese names. Map 1 gives localities with their names as currently accepted in 'English' usage.

2. v. Appendix 1 A; Map 3; and Graph.

[113] [127] 3. The demographic aspects of Malta's development are considered by Richardson (B/561), while economic factors since 1800 are analyzed by Charlton (B/381). The writer draws from both.

4. Except in the north of Malta where settlements of village status are a product of the past hundred years only.

5. Messrs. Rigg Wells, Ltd.

6. Some impression of the expansion of the Dockyard during the nineteenth century may be gained from Appendix 2 B.

[127] 7. A count, from employment files, was made in March 1957, by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton; permission being kindly given by the authorities of (at that time) H.M. Dockyard, Malta.

[114] 8. G.W.B. Robinson (B/564) distinguishes Gozo as possessing a pattern of isolated homesteads (1948), although Appendix 3 does not substantiate this.

9. Reference to G.S.G.S. 2" and 6" to the mile maps is recommended throughout : v. Section 7, Preamble.

10. Including members of the religious Orders, which have been important in Malta for five centuries.

11. v. B/91 and Appendix 4 for details of the extent of the Lay Apostolate in Malta and Gozo.

12. From conversations during field work.

13. "Jiena Malti minn in-Nadur" ('I am a Maltese from Nadur in Gozo').

14. v. B/291 and B/280 for background information.

15. In conversation with Mgr. Salamone.

[342] 16. Windows at ground-floor level were in traditional construction for reasons both of defence and privacy, and therefore provide a helpful dating feature.

[525] 17. Lotto - the popular Government lottery.

[527] 18. 'L-Imnarja' (the word is a corruption of 'Luminaria'), held each June at Buskett, includes a day and night of song and speeches and an agricultural show (v. B/216).

19. Now including the Island of Comino.

[113] 20. As there is in some societies; v. PIDDINGTON, R: "An Introduction to Social Anthropology", London, 1950, pp. 169-270.

21. v. Vegetable cropping chart for the Maltese Islands, published by the Dept. of Agriculture, Malta.

[124] 22. In three cases, the farmer himself or a member of the family wrote the daily account, the originals of which are in B/3. The analyses here given were based on translations of the originals by the writer.

23. For discussion of co-operation in marketing v. Section 4.

24. The wide variety of small rotary cultivators, etc., is excluded.

25. List supplied by the Malta Police.

26. Made 1957) by the writer and Mr. W.A. Charlton.

27. Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc.

6:Beeley K-S (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

28. i.e. the villages.

29. C.A.R.E.[27] Publicity Department Statement, 1957.

30. "Report to the Government of Libya on Indigenous and Italian Farm Enterprises in the Zavia Area". FAO Report No.259, Rome 1954, p.80.

31. Personal communication from Mr. R.W. Hill, Dept. of Geography, Durham Colleges.

32. C.A.R.E.[27] scale of income (as in the Second Distribution, 1957-58, revised):

Family of 3 or 4 persons			....	maximum income	- £5
" " 5 to 7	"		....	" "	- £5 8s
" " 8 " 10	"		....	" "	- £5 15s
" " 11 " 13	"		....	" "	- £6 1s
" " 14 " 16	"		....	" "	- £6 6s
" " 17 or 18	"		....	" "	- £6 10s

33. In addition to the 'General Poor and Needy' category here considered C.A.R.E.[27] supplies went (March, 1958) automatically to 15,181 Old Age Pensioners and to 8,321 individuals on Social Service Assistance.

34. Permission for the writer to make this analysis and much other valuable help was given by Mr. J. Boissevain, Chief of C.A.R.E. Mission in Malta at that time (7 Feb. 1958).

35. (R/168, pp.38-40).

36. i.e. Full-time farmers (R/164 - 1957, pp.20-21), excluding 679 farmers who rendered no census return.

37. Since April, 1958, the Islands have been without a locally elected Government (December, 1959).

38. "Labour Government's Progress Report, 1956-57", Malta, Central Office of Information, 1957, v.p.37.

39. J. McClement in lecture "Aims and Objects of the Dairy Training Course (1957) and the Functions of an Advisory Service", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

40. "Ghalf Bilanbjat ghall-Majjali" by A.T. Haeslor, Chief Agricultural Advisory Officer, 1957, Malta.

41. R.G. Bonnici Enriquez in lecture "The Dairy Industry in the Islands of Malta and Gozo", Malta, Dept. of Agriculture, 1957, unpub.

42. v. Appendix 1 C and 1 D for details of the present trading position.

43. Both Unions were first officially registered in 1948 but those registrations lapsed. The Ghaqda Nazzjonali tal-Bdiewa (1976 members in 1956) was re-registered in 1956 with only 494 members (Dept. of Labour and Social Welfare).

44. Information on the Co-Operative Movement was kindly provided by Mr. Farrugia.

45. Information on Unions, Co-operatives and the Malta Milk Company (K.M.M.) as at Easter, 1958.

46. That is excluding the Farmers' Central Co-operative.

47. The Summaries were compiled by Mr. H. Bowen-Jones and Mr. J.C. Dewdney of the Department of Geography, Durham Colleges, from the field material amassed by Mr. P.K. Mitchell and the writer.

48. As the information on which these Studies are based was given in confidence identities have been purposely obscured.

49. i.e. Tmien, Sigħan and Kejliet : v. Appendix 5.

6:Beeley K-S (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

234 177 50. Mr. J. McClemont, a Dairying Specialist visited Malta and Gozo from the United Kingdom in the summer of 1957, and, with his assistant Miss Paill, was responsible for much instruction and recommendation on the dairy industry in both Islands (v. Note 39).

000 51. The Agricultural and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, (No.11 of 1956).

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[Biographical information on thirteen case studies of representative farmers and herdsmen in Malta and Gozo will be found in category 116, pp. 73-141.]